THE DOVVNFALL OF *GREATNESSE.*

For the losse of *GOODNESSE.*

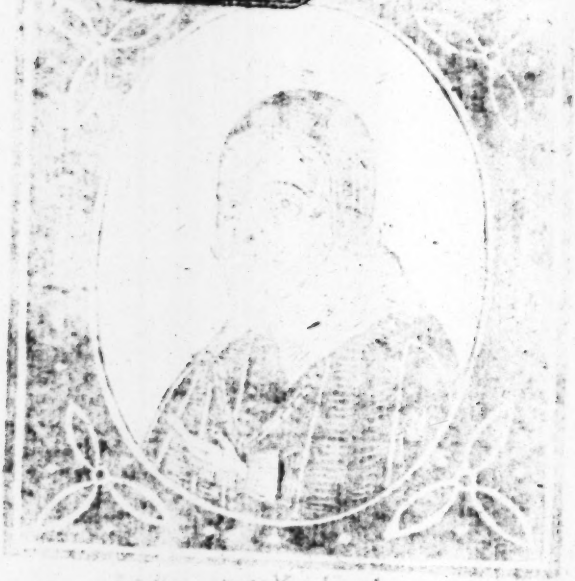
A POEM: *OR,*

A short Survay of *Thomas* Lord *VVentworth,* Late Earle of *Strafford,* Lord Lieutenant Generall of His Majesties Army, Generall Governour, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland,* Lord President of the Councell established in the North parts of *England,* and of the County and City of *York,*, one of His Majesties most honourable Privie Councell, and Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter.

His History, and Tragedy:

Who was accused, and impeached of high Treason, arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and beheaded on Tower-hill, May 12. 1641.

Printed in the Yeare, 1641.



THE DOVVNFALL OF *GREATNESSE* FOR THE LOSSE OF *GOODNESSE.*

IN this (as in a mirrour) you may see
Wentworth, want worth, his life and tragedie,
He was a Peer, once Pillar of this Land,
Who a whole Kingdome had at his command;
Indeed, What had he not? The confluence
Of all things make men happy, Eminnence
'Bove others, Learning, Knowledge, Eloquence,
The favour of his Prince, familiarity
With his Peers; he had volubility
Of his tongue, with the strength of memory,
Honours, offices, wealth, and potency,
He was a man of admirable parts,
Expert and skilfull both in armes and arts;
Souldier, and Scholer, able to compare
With *Ajax*, or *Vlysses*, for his rare
Perfections; a grand Counceller of State;
Counsell might make him see, not shun his Fate;
This great mans execution long expected,
Did come at last, and quickly was effected;

So mortall was his life, that daring death
Depriv'd him at one ſtroke of vitall breath.
Why then, haile death! Lord of the land of clay!
Emperour of Churchyards, King of *Golgotha!*
Seeing neither Arms, nor Arts, nor *Cæſars* ſmile
(Whoſe glorious beames do bleſſe this *Brittiſh* Ile)
Could guard him from deaths fatall blow; fix this
Oh Truth, in every Statiſts ſoule, All bliſſe
Borrow'd from breath is tranſient: even as boyes
With Cards build Caſtles, ſo titles are but toyes,
Erected, and ſtrait ruin'd with a breath;
But vertue ſurvives Marble, Time, and Death.
Honours are bubbles, Phantaſmes that delude
Dull ſoules: by them ſtout *Strafford* was ſubdude.
His haughty minde aſpiring got a fall
So ponderous, that it caus'd his funerall.
Unfortunate he was from's Mothers wombe,
And ſo continued hath unto his Tombe.
Some are ſlain by ambition, ſome by luſt;
He like a ſtone was cut in his own duſt.
His Rule in *Ireland* 'its well known to all,
Was potent, tyrannous, and tragicall.
His life was a ſad play, his Mothers Wombe
From which he ent'rd, was the Tyring-Roome;
Wherein with Natures gifts he was ſo dreſt,
That he had acted well, he had been bleſt
To all Eternity; happy had he bin,
Had he conſider'd but the ſtipend of ſin,
And call'd himſelfe t'account his unto Maſter.
H'had not then met with any ſuch diſaſter.
But wretched man himſelfe of 's ſelfe bereaves,
And like a ſilk-worme his owne ſorrow weaves.
So inconſiderate and ſtupid, that he
Seldome prevents his future miſery,
Careleſſe and dreadleſſe, 't was his malignant Fate
Inſtead of love, t'incurre the peoples hate,

That

That haften'd his death. May his example prove,
There is no happineſſe on earth like love.
May it warne great men, who are high in blood,
To be as 'ith' State great, ſo in mind good;
And may it be a caveat unto all
That ſtand, to take heed leſt like him they fall.
Oh, what is glory? or the life of man?
Much like a vapour, far leſſe than a ſpan.
What 's th' Earths pompe? a ſhip of vanitie,
In which man ſailes through a Sea of miſery;
And never is in happineſſe, or reſt,
Till he land at Heavens haven, that Port bleſt.
He that does well, and 's conſtant, he ſhall finde
Peace in his conſcience, comfort in his minde.
He that does ill, Let him remember this,
There is a thing call'd direfull *Nemeſis*.
Iudgement (though ſlow) is ſure; And honours flood
Ebbes into ayre, when man is great, not good.
View it in him, whoſe ſplendor was we ſee
A well writ Prologue to his Tragedy.

A POSTSCRIPT
TO THE PRECEDENT POEM.

THe faireſt Proſpect unto honour lyes from the hill of vertue, and the beſt way to happineſſe, is in the high rode of holineſſe. Hee that lives well, cannot dye ill; And 'tis not what a man has, but what he is, that makes him ſhine an eminent ſtarre in the Sphere of the State.

Stemmata nil faciunt, as the Poet accutely; *& nobilitas sola est atq; unica virtus*. Tis only vertue which is the trueſt Nobilitie, and that which makes man really noble. Hence it is, that *Nobilitas parta* is farre better than *Nobilitas partu*, to be borne great, and to live ſordid, is ignominious and wretched; but merit, and the noble actions of the mind farre tranſcend the generoſitie of high-borne progenitors. *Hinc illæ Lachrimæ*: that from a pure fountaine ſhould ſpring a foule ſtream; from a good root a bad branch, 'tis much to bee deplored. So true it is that the princely Prophet, *Man being in honour, hath no underſtanding, but is like the Beaſts that periſh*. Tis verified in the ſubiect of this diſcourſe. *Honos* to him was *Onus*, his preferment his perdition, his pompe was his pain, and his riſing his ruine, The higher he was, the heavier was his fall: with *Phaeton* hee ſoar'd too high, and with him aiming at the Suns Sphere, to be mounted in *Charls* wain; from the altitude and utmoſt pitch of Majeſty, he fell to the profundity, extremity, and abiſſe of miſery. Had he been holy as he was honourable, righteous as rich, pious as politick and as prudent for the State, as hee was peſtilent to the State, he had been the grace of his Countrey, the glory of his age, and a mirrour of ſucceeding generations, to his eternall fame; had he been what he was not, he had never arriv'd to ſuch a ſad diſaſter as he did.

Hee was a man of admirable abilities; Eloquence, Learning, Courage and valour were his ſervants to command; all which hee might have imployed to the glory of God, the honour of his Majeſtie, the good and benefit of the Church and Common-wealth; but hee perverted thoſe good indowments, which nature and the God of nature was pleaſed liberally to confer upon him, and imploy'd them to his owne ends, for the effecting and accompliſhing of his hainous doings, and facinorous deſignes.

His

His capitall crimes were Ambition, Pride, Injustice, Cruelty, and Treachery, *Cum multis aliis*, which for brevity sake, I omit. He endeavour'd to subvert the Lawes, the ancient and fundamentall Lawes and Government of the Kings Realms of *England* and *Ireland*. And whereas he allodged at his tryall in *Westminster* Hall, that he never introduced an arbitrary and tyrannicall Government, althongh he hath not effected it, (God be thanked, being prevented) yet he intended it. He exercised tyrannous and exorbitant power above and against the Lawes, over the libertie, states and lives of his Majesties subjects. He was the firebrand and incendiary of the wars between the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*.

The better to preserve him and his confederates, he labored (as much as in him lay) to dissolve Parliaments, and to subvert the rights, liberties, and privileges of Parliaments, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings. He who was under the Law did assume to himselfe a power above Law, yea without and against Law. He was a terrour to the City, and an eyesore to the Countrey; his look was grimme, his anger intolerable, his rage implacable. He was tyranny in the Abstract; without any bowels of compassion. How many honest men did he cause to be committed? compelling the great Councell of the Kingdome of *Ireland* to condescend to his commands; trampling on the Peeres, oppressing his Majesties subjects, and insulting over people of all ranks, quality, and condition whatsoever. When he was first sent into *Ireland* with commission and authority, it was not long after, but he pursued his intents, and produced them into acts. Such horrid offences and nefarious crimes did he perpetrate and commit, of so exorbitant and transcendent a nature, that they indang'rd a generall insurrection against Majestie itselfe. To contract what I might protract,

tract, He attempted at one blow the ruine of the three Kingdomes, and their posteritie, to bring them into perpetuall captivity, which is treason, and in the highest degree. These were his plots and projects, these were his crimes and offences. For which by the high and honorable Court of Parliament, he was convicted, and condemned to suffer death, in the place and on the day before mentioned.

Iam illum premit nox, The Sun of his Summers day is now set, and the sad night of dreadfull death is come upon him. Let not the headlesse multitude (or rather that many headed monster, *bellua multorum capitum*) censure and condemne this great man, as one utterly lost. We ought to judge charitably of him, who died in the feare of his Maker, and faith of his Redeemer. He had sweet Christian expressions of his Repentance, of faith, his obedience and humble subjection to the will of God. Without doubt, God did open his eyes, both before, and at the houre of his death; And though his latter dayes were his bad dayes, (yet in the judgement of charity) his last day way his best das.

FINIS.

reg
no
ff
de
gh
rd,
he

ay
ne
rr
)
hy
d
r.
e
ll
k
s

ARGUMENTS GIVEN IN BY THE COMMISSIONERS of *Scotland* unto the Lords of the Treaty, perſwading Conformitie of Church government, as one principall meanes of a continued peace betweene the two Nations.

Follow peace and holineſſe, Heb. 12. 14.

Now I beſeech you brethren by the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that yee all ſpeake the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions among you, but that yee be perfectly joyned together in the ſame minde, and in the ſame judgement, 1 Cor. 1. 10.

Behold how good, and how pleaſant it is for brethren to dwell together in unitie. Pſal. 133. 1.

Printed 1641.

To the Reader.

THe unsupportable yoake of Episcopall government, hath so much burthened, and bruised even great multitudes of all sorts, not only in their outward estates and civill liberties, but especially in their consciences, that streames of teares and frequent prayers have beene uncessantly poured forth before God in wayes ordinary and extraordinary for a full deliverance. And howsoever the Lord hath long beene silent to the sad complaints and suites of his servants, yet of late, a wide doore of hope doth seeme to be opened for the thrusting out of Episcopacie, and the letting in of our much desired liberty, by meanes of the present Parliament. This welcome opportunitie hath beene well improved by pressing Petitions from all parts of this Kingdome humbly presented to that high and Honourable Court, for the utter extirpation of the Prelacie, which as an ill weed hath growne high, and spread farre to the prejudice and danger, both of Church and State. At this time, there is an admirable concurrence of providences, in that multitudes of his Majesties most loyall Subjects both in England *and Ireland, doe with Harmonious heartinesse petition for the plucking downe of the tottering and rotten frame of that much hated Hierarchy. Hereupon, a Copie of these ensuing arguments occasionally comming to the hands of a Friend well-affected unto the cause of reformation, hee hath presumed to make them publicke, hoping*

they may somewhat promote the common cause of Zion which is now in agitation. The late protestation published and explained (which hath happily beene avowed by both houses of Parliament) doth more then promise the united zealous endevours of all those Worthies, to oppose popery, with all popish innovations, and also by all just and honourable meanes to maintaine unity betweene the Kingdomes. Now it is humbly referred to the judgement of all that are indifferent hearted, and not byassed by partialsty, to consider, whether the English Episcopacy be not popish, and whether the removing thereof, roote and branch will not (in all probability) tend much to the confirmation of a blessed peace in his Majestyes Dominions.

Our

Our desires concerning unitie in Religion, and uniformitie of Church Government, as a speciall meane to conserve peace in his Majesties Dominions.

AS we shall not make any proposition about this last Article of establishing a firme and happy peace; But that which we conceive to be both expedient and just; So will your Lordships, we doubt not, in your wisdome consider, that since that which is sought, is not a cessation of armes for a time, but peace for ever; and not peace only, but perfect amity and a more neere union then before, which is of greater consequence then all the former Articles; It is no marvell that a composition, so excellent, and so powerfull to preserve the whole Island in health against all inward distempers, and in strength against all contagion and wounds from without, require many ingredients, of which if any one be wanting, We may on both sides please our selves for the present with the sweet name of peace, and yet for no long time enjoy peace it selfe, which hath in it not only sweetnesse and pleasure, but also much more profit and true honour then all the Triumphs on earth.

As we accompt it no lesse then usurpation and presumption for one Kingdome or Church, were it never so mighty and glorious, to give lawes and rules of Reformation to

another free and independent Church and Kingdome, were it never so meane; Civill libertie and conscience being so tender and delicate that they cannot endure to be touched, but by such as they are wedded unto, and have lawfull authority over them; So have we not beene so forgetfull of our selves, who are the lesser, and of *England*, which is the greater Kingdome, as to suffer any such arrogant and presumptuous thoughts to enter into our mindes, our wayes also are witnesses of the contrary; against the malicious, who doe not expresse what wee are, or have beene; but doe still devise what may be fewell for a common combustion: Yet Charitie is no presumption, and the common duty of charitie bindeth all Christians at all times, both to pray and professe their desire that all others were not only almost, but altogether such as themselves except their afflictions and distresses; and beside common Charity, we are bound as Commissioners in a speciall duty to propound the best and readiest meanes for setling of a firme peace. As wee love not to be curious in another Common-wealth, nor to play the Bishop in another Diocesse; So may we not bee careless and negligent in that which concerneth both Nations.

Wee doe all know and professe that Religion is not only the meane to serve God, and to save our owne soules. But that it is also the base and foundation of Kingdomes and the estates, and the strongest band to tye subjects unto their Prince in true loyaltie, and to knit their hearts one to another in true unitie; Nothing so powerfull to divide the hearts of people, as division in religion; nothing so strong to invite them as unity in Religion: and the greater zeale in different Religions, the greater division, but the more zeale in one Religion the more firme union. In the Paradise of nature the diversity of flowers and herbes is pleasant and usefull. But in the paradise of the Church different and contrary Religion are unpleasant and hurtfull. It is therefore to be wished that there were One confession of faith, One forme of Catechisme, One directory for all the parts of the publike worship of God, and prayer, preaching, administration

tion

tion of Sacraments, &c. and One forme of Church Government in all the Churches of his Majesties Dominions. This would

1. Be acceptable to God Almightie, who delighteth to see his people walking in truth and unity, and who would looke upon this Island with the greater complacencie that we were all of one heart and one soule in matters of Religion.

2. This unitie in Religion will preserve our peace, and prevent many divisions and troubles; Of old (as *Beda* recordeth) the difference about the time of observing of Easter, (although no great matter in religion, and although in divers independent Kingdomes,) had troubled their peace, if the wiser sort had not brought them to an uniformitie, wherein they were so zealous that they would not suffer so much as one small Island, which differed from the rest, to be unconforme.

3. His Majestie and his Successours in their government shall be eased of much trouble which ariseth from differences of Religion, and hath beene very grievous unto Kings and Emperours, as *Eusebius* witnesseth in his 3 booke, chap. 12. of the life of *Constantine*; *Sedition begotten in the Church of God* (saith *Constantine*) *seemeth to mee to containe in it selfe more trouble and bitternesse, then any warre or battell.*

4. Since by divine providence his Majestie is King of divers kingdomes, it shall be much content both to himselfe, to his Nobles and Court, and to all his people, when his Majesty shall in person visite any of his Kingdomes. That King, Court and People, may without all scruple of conscience be partakers of one and the same forme of divine worship, and his Majestie with his Court may come to the publike assembly of the people, and serve God with them, according to the practise of the good kings of *Iudah*; As on the other part difference in formes of Divine worship, diuideth betweene the king and the people.

5. This shall be a great comfort to all his Majesties Subjects when they travell abroad from their owne countrey, to any other place in his Majesties Dominions, whether for commerce,

commerce, or whatsoever negotiation and affaires. That they may with confidence resort to the publike worship, as if they were at home, and in their owne parish Church: and shall satisfie many doubts, and remove many exceptions, Iealousie and Scandalls which arise upon resorting to different formes of worship.

6 The names of Heresies, and Sects, of Puritans, Conformists, Separatists, which rent the bowels both of Church and Kingdome, are a matter of much stumbling to the people, and diminish the glory of his Majesties raigne, shall no more be heard; But as the Lord is one his Name shall be one, and the name of the people one in all his Majesties Dominions.

7. Papists and Recusants shall despaire of successe to have their religion set up againe, and shall either conforme themselves or get them hence, and irreligious men shall have a great scandall removed out of their way; which shall be a meane of great safetie and securitie, and of many blessings both to King and people. *I am perswaded* (saith *Constantine* as *Eusebius* recordeth in his life, *lib.2.c.63.*) *were I able, as it is in my desires, to bind all the true worshippers of God by the common bond of concord, all the subjects of my Empire would quickly turne themselves to their pious ordinances.*

8. This unitie of Religion shall make Ministers to build the Church with both their hands, whiles now the one hand is holden out in opposition against the other party. And shall turne the many and unpleasant labours of writing and reading of unprofitable controversies, into treatises of Mortification, and studies of Devotion, and practicall Divinitie.

This Vnitie of Religion is a thing so desireable, that all sound Divines and Politicians are for it, where it may bee easily obtained and brought about; And as wee conceive so pious and profitable a worke to be worthy of the best consideration, So are wee earnest in recommending it to your Lordships, that it may be brought before his Majestie and the Parliament, as that which doth highly concerne his Majesties honour, and the Well of all his Dominions, and which without forcing of Consciences seemeth not only to be possible,

possible, but an easie worke. But because the matter is of great weight, and of large extent, and therefore will require a large time. Our desire is, that for the present some course may be taken for an uniformitie in Government.

1. Because there can be small hope of unity in Religion, which is the chiefe bond of peace and humane societie, unlesse first there be one forme of Ecclesiasticall government.

2. Because difference in this point hath beene the maine cause of all other differences between the two Nations since the reformation of Religion.

3. Because (although it ought not to be so) we find it true in experience, that Church-men through their corruption are more hot and greater zelots about government then about matters more substantiall, their worldly dignities and wealth being herein concerned, as *Erasmus* rendered this reason of the animositie of the Church of *Rome* against *Luther*, seeking after Reformation, that he medled with the Popes crowne and the Monkes bellies.

4. It is observed by Politicians, and we have found it in experience, that Church-men doe not only beare with different Religions, and suffer divisions both in Church and policie to rise and grow; But doe also foment and cherish the contrary factions that they themselves may grow bigge, and swell to a greatnesse, while both sides have their dependance upon them, and have their thoughts busied about other matters then about Church-government, and the Ambition, pompe, and other corruptions of Church Governours.

5. None of all the Reformed Churches, although in Nations farre distant one from another, and under divers Princes and Magistrates, are at so great a difference in Church-government as these two Kingdomes be, which are in one Island, and under one Monarch, which made King *Iames* of happy memorie to labour to bring them under one forme of Government.

But since all the question is, whether of the two Church-governments shall have place in both Nations (for we know no third forme of government of a Nationall Church

distinct from these two) We doe not presume to propound the forme of Government of the Church of *Scotland*, as a patterne for the Church of *England*, but doe only represent in all modesty these few considerations according to the trust committed unto us.

1. The Government of the Church of *Scotland* is the same with the government of all the Reformed Churches, and hath bin by them universally received, & practised, with the reformation of the doctrine and worship; from which so farre as we depart, we dis-joyne our selves as farre from them, and doe lose so much of our harmonie with them. Whence it is, that from other Reformed Churches, it hath beene written to the Church of *Scotland*, *That it was a great gift of God that they had brought together into Scotland the purity of Religion, and discipline, whereby the doctrine is safely kept, praying and beseeching them so to keepe these two together, as being assured, that if the one fall, the other cannot long stand.* Vpon the other part, the government of the Church of *England* was not changed with the doctrine at the time of Reformation. The Pope was rejected, but his Hierarchy was retained, which hath beene a ground of jealousie and suspition to the Reformed Churches, of continuall contention in the Church of *England* these 80. yeares past, since the beginning of Queene *Elizabeth* her reigne and of hopes and expectation to the Church of *Rome*, for (saith *Contzen* in his Politicks, *lib.2.cap.18*) *Were all England once brought to approve of Bishops, it were easie to reduce it to the Church of Rome.* But what one Prince hath begun, and by reason of the times, or of other hinderances could not promote or perfect; another, raised up by the mercy of God, may bring to passe: according to the example of good *Iosiah*, like unto whom there was no king before him, which we heartily wish may be verified of King *Charles*.

2. The Church of *Scotland* hath beene continually, and many sundry wayes vexed, and disquieted by the Bishops of *England*.

1. By the continuall and restlesse negotiation of the prime

prime Prelates in *England*, with some of that faction in *Scotland*, both before the comming of King *Iames* into *England*, which we are ready to make manifest, and since his comming; Till at last a kind of Episcopacy was erected there by the power of the Prelates of *England*, against the confession of faith, the Covenant and acts of the Nationall assemblies of the Church of *Scotland*.

2. The Prelates of *England* without the consent or knowledge of the Church of *Scotland* gave Episcopall consecration to some corrupt Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, and sent them home to consecrate others like unto themselves; And when some great men have beene, for their obstinacy in papistry, excommunicated by the Church of *Scotland*, they have bin absolved from the sentence by the Prelates of *England*: So that they have usurped the power of that which, in their owne opinion is the highest Ordination, and of that which is indeed the highest point of Iurisdiction.

3. They rested not here, but proceeded to change the forme of Divine worship, and for many yeares bred a great disturbance both to pastors and people, by five Articles of conformity with the Church of *England*.

4 Having in the former prevailed, and finding their opportunitie, and a rare concourse of many powerfull hands, and heads ready to co-operate; They made strong assaults upon the whole externall worship and doctrine of our Church, by enforcing upon us a popish booke of Common prayer, for making *Scotland* first as the weaker, and thereafter *England* conforme to *Rome*; And upon the consciences, liberties, and goods of the people by a booke of Canons, and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, establishing a tyrannicall power in the persons of our Prelates, and abolishing the whole discipline and government of our Church, without so much as consulting with any presbytery, Synod, or assembly in all the Land.

5. They procured Subsidies to be lifted for warre against us under paine of deprivation to all of the clergy that should refuse.

 6. They

6. They commanded both preaching and imprecations against us, as enemies to God and the King.

7. They have received into the Ministery, and provided places for such of our Ministers, as for their disobedience to the voyce of the Assembly, and their other faults and scandals, were deposed in *Scotland*: And finally, They have left nothing undone, which might tend to the overthrow of our Church, not only of late by the occasion of these troubles whereof they have beene the authors, but of old from that opposition which is betweene Episcopall government, and the government of the Reformed Churches by assemblies. Vpon the contrary, The Church of *Scotland* never hath molested them, either in the doctrine, worship, ceremonies, or discipline of their Church, but have lived quietly by them, kept themselves within their line, and would have beene glad to enjoy their owne liberties in peace, which yet is, and by the helpe of God shall be our constant desire; Yet can we not conceale our mindes, but in our consciences and before God must declare, not from any saucinesse, or presumptuous intention to reforme *England*, but from our just feares and apprehensions; That our Reformation, which hath cost us so deare, and is all our wealth and glory, shall againe be spoiled, and defaced from *England*; That whatsoever peace shall be agreed upon, we cannot see nor conceive the way how our peace shall be firme and durable. But our feare is, that all will runne into a confusion againe, ere it be long, if Episcopacie shall be retained in *England*; for the same causes will not faile to produce the same effects. Their opposition against, and hatred of the government of the reformed Churches; Their credit at Court, and newes to the King living in *England*; The opinion they have of their owne great learning, and of the glory of their prelaticall Church, joyned with the small esteeme and disdaine of our Christian simplicity; The consanguinitie of their Hierarchy with the Church of *Rome*, and their feare to fall before us at last, Will still be working, especially now, when they are made operative, and shall be set on worke at the first advantage, by

their

their vindictive disposition to be avenged upon us for the present quarrell, which can never be changed by any limitations: As on the contrarie, the cause being taken away, the effects will cease, and the peace shall bee firme. It would seeme that Limitations, Cautions, and Trienniall Parliaments may doe much; But we know that feare of perjurie, infamy, excommunication, and the power of a Nationall assembly, which was in *Scotland* as terrible to a Bishop as a Parliament, could not keepe our men from rising to be Prelates; And after they had risen to their greatnesse, their Apologie was, *Conditiones alia pro tempore magis quo contentiosis rixandi, anso prariperetur quam animo in perpetuum observandi, acceptæ; These other cautions or conditions were rather accepted of for the time, to prevent all occasion of jangling with the contentious, then out of any purpose to observe them for ever.* Much is spoken and written for the limitation of Bishops, but what good can their limitation doe to the Church, if Ordination and Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction shall depend upon them, and shall not be absolutely into the hands of the assemblies of the Church; and if it shall not depend upon them, what shall their office be above other Pastors? or how shall their labours be worthy so large wages? What service can they doe to King, Church, or State? *Rome* and *Spaine* may be glad at the retaining of the name of Bishops, more then the Reformed Churches which expect from us at this time, some matter of rejoycing.

3. The Reformed Churches doe hold without doubting, their Church officers, Pastors, Doctors, Elders and Deacons, and their Church government by assemblies to be *Jure divino* and perpetuall, as is manifest in all their writings, And on the other part Episcopacie, as it differeth from the office of Pastor, is almost universally acknowledged, even by the Bishops themselves and their adherents, to be but an humane ordinance established by law and custome for conveniencie without warrant of Scripture. Which therefore by humane authoritie may be altered and abolished, upon so great a conveniencie as is the hearty conjunction with all

 the

the Reformed Churches, and a durable peace of the two Kingdomes, which have bin formerly divided by this partition wall. We therefore desire, That *Ius divinum* and *Humanum*, Conscience and Convenience, yea the greater Conveniencie with the lesser, and wee may adde a conveniencie, and an inconveniencie, may be compared, and equally weighed in the ballance without adding any weight of prejudice.

4. The Church of *Scotland* warranted by authoritie hath abjured Episcopall government, as having no warrant in Scripture and by solemne oath and covenant divers times before, and now againe of late, hath established the government of the Church by assemblies; But *England*, neither having abjured the one, nor sworne the other, hath liberty from all bands of this kind to make choyce of that which is most warrantable by the word of God; And lest it bee thought that we have wilfully bound our selves of late by oath that we be not pressed with a change. We desire to be considered, that our late oath was nothing but the renovation of our former oath and Covenant, which did bind our Church before, but was transgressed of many by the meanes of the Prelates.

5. If it shall please the Lord to move the Kings heart to choose this course, he shall, in a better way then was projected, accomplish the great and glorious Designe, which King *Iames* had before his eyes all his time, of the unity of Religion, and Church-government in all his Dominions; His Crownes and Kingdomes shall be free of all assaults and policies of Church-men. Which, whether in the way of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction and Church censure; Or by complying with the Pope, the greatest enemie of Monarchie, or by bringing Civill government into a confusion, or by taking the fat of the sacrifice to themselves, when the people are pleased with the Government, and when they are displeased, by transferring the hatred upon authoritie, which was never wont to be done by any good States-men. All which all these wayes have proceeded from Bishops seeking their owne greatnesse, never from assemblies, which, unlesse overruled

ruled by Bishops, have beene a strong guard to Monarchie and Majestracie, both the one and the other being the ordinances of God: The Church shall be peaceably governed by common consent of Church-men in assemblies; In which the Kings Majestie hath alwayes that eminencie which is due unto the supreme Magistrate, and by which all heresies, errours and schismes abounding under Episcopall government shall be suppressed, and the State and all civill matters in Parliament, Councell, and other inferiour Iudicatures governed by civill men, and not by Church-men, who, being out of their owne element, must needs stirre and make trouble to themselves, and the whole State, as wofull experience hath taught. The worke shall be better done, and the means, which did uphold their unprofitable pompe and greatnesse, may supply the wants of many preaching Ministers to be provided to places, And, without the smallest losse or damage to the Subjects, may be a great increase of his Majesties Revenues; His Royall authoritie shall be more deeply rooted in the united hearts, and more strongly guarded by the joynt forces of his Subjects, as if they were all of one Kingdome: And his greatnesse shall be enlarged abroad by becomming the head of all the Protestants in Europe, to the greater horrour of his enemies, and to the sowing of greatnesse to his posterity and Royall succession. All which wee intreat may be represented unto his Majestie, and the houses of Parliament, as the expression of our desires, and feares, and as a testimony of our faithfulnesse in acquiting our selves in the trust committed unto us; but no wayes forgetting our distance, or intending to passe our bounds in prescribing, or setting downe rules to their wisedome and authoritie, which we doe highly reverence and honour, and from which only, as the proper fountaine, the lawes and order of Reformation in this Church, and Policie must proceed for the neerer union and greater happinesse of his Majesties Dominions.

FINIS.

The Discontented CONFERENCE

BETWIXT

The two great ASSOCIATES,

WILLIAM

Archbishop of Canterbury,

AND

THOMAS

Late Earle of *STRAFFORD*.

Printed in the Yeare

Straff. GOD save your Grace: How doe you do?
Cant. My Lord, I thanke you, well as you.
Straff. I have not seene your Grace of late
So full of mirth, may't auspicate
Some good event, and such as we
May by it finde our liberty;
The Proverbe him unwise doth hold,
Who loves his fetters, though of gold.
Cant. Last night (my Lord) some nobler dreame
Then did to sanguine, choler, phlegme,
Or unto melancholy owe
It's birth, did on my fancy grow:
Me thoughts I was in *Oxford*, where
Lord Chancellours name and power I beare;
What shouts Saint IOHNS there to me gave,
My gladded eares yet ringing have;
I heard their labouring joyes, and throng
Of praises, both in prose and song.
And as, me thoughts, from thence I came
To Lambeth, I still heard the same
Sounds, that Eccho from Whitehall
Return'd them to my Lambeths wall.
Straf In such a dreame, O who would keepe
A noyse to breake your Graces sleepe!
And though dreames erre, yet may this be
To your happy prophesie,
And such a One as may prove true,
And faire unto my selfe, as you.
For so by one compact of wit,
Our Counsels were together knit
So close, so even they slid got
To worke the Common-weale its woe,
We cannot well our selves define
What plot was yours, or which was mine,
They were each others Inmates, twins
That vi'd which most should number sins;
Both slept, both wak'd at once, and whether
They lost or won both play'd together.

Cant.

Cant. My Lord, you rage. *Straf.* You cannot call
Truth a diſeaſe, or rage at all:
Truth neither can, nor will deceive you.
Cant. Farewell my Lord, for I muſt leave you.
Straf. Yet ſtay a while, and give to me
Once more your Benedicitee;
I muſt confeſſe I did begin
To chide, but now forget my ſpleene.
Cant. It doth increaſe my joy, and ſure
The joy may well your praiſe procure:
How thinke you? Would this Kingdome ſleux,
To heare we two were falling out?
Come, be your ſelfe; relate at length
What arm'd Recuſants, what new ſtrength
May come from Ireland, to relieve
Our dying faction. *Straf.* Never grieve
My ſetled Soule; I doe not know
That root on which one hope might grow;
But in concluſion there muſt be
A rope for you, an axe for me.
Cant. Was this your ſo well grounded gueſſe
Of our increaſing happineſſe?
Ends thus your boaſting, that you could
Get money, men, or what you would,
To curbe the insolence of thoſe
That were, or would become our foes?
Falſe *Straffords* Earle. *Straf.* Stop there, your Grace
His tongue doth trot too round a pace;
Looke, looke abroad, can you now ſee
No Patent, no Monopolee;
All your projects, all your fine
Devices ſick as Medium wine.
Can now no more *Lauds*, lawdleſſe might,
The Parſon from the Pulpit fright,
The Subject from the Kingdome? What
Could ruine doe which you did not?
Cant. There's ſomething yet undone, 'tis true,
But ſhortly to be done to you:

Each Guard you have (for 'tis the will
Of Fate to have you guarded still)
Shall serve the minister of your doome,
Your Executioner, not your Groome:
Your head that mastered so much art,
Ere long shall from your shoulders part;
Your blood your scarlet must new dye,
Your Spurres fall off, your Ermines flye,
And of so great, so fear'd a Name,
Scarce left a man that loves your Fame.

Straf. So, so (my Lord) my heart is glad
I owne that griefe your Grace can mad;
Your Head, no doubt, is growne the lighter
Since disinvested of the Miter;
It was too proud a weight, and knowne
To nurse bad thoughts, 'tis better gone.
The Shepheards on their sheephooks laugh,
And doe upbraid your Crosiers staffe;
No more, your now deafe Chaplaines harke
What houre shall speake you Patriarke.

Cant. Farewell, farewell, your Time cals on,
Speake thoughts more sanctifide, or none;
Tis you must lead the way, and I
Shall follow after by and by.

Straf. My lifes short knarled thred doth stand
Expecting Fates impartiall hand;
Heav'n hath my thoughts, (my Lord) yet stay,
Shall we nere meet againe? *Cant.* We may,
There's roome enough in heav'n for two
Have more transgrest then I or you;
But I what place and time forbeare
To name, 'tis G O D knowes when and where.

FINIS.

A 4

SERMON

preached to the

RENOWNED

Company of the

ARTILLERY,

1 September, 1640.

Designed

To Compose the present Troubles, by Discovering the Enemies of the Peace of the Church and State.

Published by the honourable house of Commons.

By *Calybute Downing* LL.D.

Pastor of HACKNEY.

LONDON

Printed by *E. G.* for *Iohn Rothwell*, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Sunne in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1641.

A SERMON preached to the RENOWNED Company of the ARTILLERY, 1 September, 1640.

Designed
To Compose the present Troubles, by Discovering the Enemies of the Peace of the Church and State.

By *Calistate Downing* LL.D.
Pastor of HACKNEY.

LONDON
Printed by *E. G.* for *Iohn Rothwell*, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Sunne in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1641.

TO THE IVDICIOVS READER.

THe ſtrange repreſentations & falſe charges that haue beene laid upon this ſervice, preſſe me to give way to the publiſhing, for though I conceive it no ill manners in an evill time to decline the bringing in of private papers to ſerve inſuggeſtion, for an inquiſition, yet I concluded myſelfe bound

in due ſeaſon to give ſatis-
faction to pious and pru-
dent men, ſo that were it
not ſuſpition of a work of
darkeneſſe impends over
this ſermon, I ſhould ne-
ver let theſe lines paſſe as
worthy the light, but be-
ing univerſally required
to it both by friends and
enemies, I beſeech the wi-
ſer well minded world to
iudge by the intent, the
action & the event, whe-
ther I meant miſchiefe, or
my adverſaries were mi-
ſtaken, which I confeſſe
they could hardly avoyd
conſidering their princi-
ples and the preſent con-
iun-

iuncture of affaires: ſo that to what any ſhall affirme, I ſay no; to what ſome have lately informed, I ſay nothing, as willing to diſtinguiſh betwixt doing me a perſonall diſpleaſure, & the ſtate a ſervice; I could ſay no leſſe, nor will ſay no more, but only deſire ſuch men to remember that they forget not honeſty nor humanity when they accuſe others for dealing falſly in divinity, and then I believe we ſhall have more peace and fewer pamphlets.

Remem-

DEVT. 25. 17.

Remember what Amaleck did unto thee by the way when you were come out of Egypt.

IT is no mans wisedome, nor businesse, to provoke a quiet enemie; but it is every wise mans worke (especially if trusted in any publique way) to consider, discover, and represent their foes as they finde them affected, which is most assured by their actions. So that, though the ordinary motions of prudent Christians are moderate, even, and equall, and required to be so (as these Israelites were not to first offend or invade the children of *Esau*) yet when wee have to deale

with men, whoſe counſels and practiſes are like their ends, dareing and driving in deſtructive waies, and can conclude no better upon us, if they keep cloſe to their owne fundamentall principles; we have reaſon, and it is religon, ſafe, and therefore ſeaſonable, to change our temper and conſtitutions of our counſels, and that before dangers and difficulties grow too great, and the worke prove an impoſſible pull. For if when the face of affaires is ſo altered, we keepe our ſober, ſolemne, paſſive pace, and in a ſuffering modeſtie, or confident ſecurity, invite an ambitious incroaching adverſary, to advance and make imbracements upon us, we may thanke our owne folly and weakeneſſe, that would not prevent pregnant feares while they were future, but onely hope to play an after-game, when they are turned into preſſing, great, and

growing

growing grievances, of a disabling destructive nature, when there is no way left of reliefe, but by their mercie, or mistaking, both which it should much trouble any judicious rationall man to trust, as if it were not a most irrecoverable error, to cast our selves into our old sworne enemies armes, to be embraced, or crusht as they see occasion.

These words therefore that I now read unto you, are laid in by meeke *Moses*, a man of no cruell counsels, whose naturall temper carried him to peace and pardon, yet you see here hee crosses and condemnes his nature, commends and commands those counsels that presse and put on to armes and action, and with such full force and freedome, that in coole blood, as a businesse not to be forgotten, hee goes out of his way, with an inconsequence, to bring it

in, for you ſhall finde no dependance of theſe words, nor any ſuitableneſſe in their ſubject, but very diſſonant, being the former paſſages of the chapter tending to ending of controverſies by arbitration and relaxation by common equity mitigation of corporall puniſhments, that no brother ſhould have above forty ſtripes, but here tis commanded to be laid on without limits.

So that if you will ſurvey and conſider this Scripture, you will finde it of great occaſionall concernment, and uttered to the chiefe Commanders of the *Campe and Common-wealth of Iſrael*: and being of an *hiſtoricall nature*, and not the originall, but the repetition *of a record*, entered *as an act of State*, upon a *Counſell of warre*, to revive, and rivet it home hot unto the heart (as you may finde the rite and reaſon of it, *Exod.* 17. with an

Exod. 17.

expreſſe

expresse command for the rehearsing of it in the eares of *Ioshua* and the victors some few daies after the discomfiture of *Amalecke*.

Now for the discoursing upon this historicall relation, that was laid in, as a law to be executed by succeeding generations, we cōceive it convenient being point *of fact*, to open the termes, to consider the fundamentall *right*, in the reasons of it, and so put it home in a particular practicke *parallel*, as wee have the like occasion for reflexive worke. First, consider who these men were, what nation, what partie, that are thus to be remembred in way of distance and defiance. Now *Amalecke* was a people that descended of *Esaus* line, by his *first wife of the three*, which he took to vex his father *Isaack*, borne of a concubine to *Eliphaz*, *Esaus* eldest sonne who was begotten in the height of his hatred to his bro-

1

Gen. 36.

Gen. 28.

Ezeck:25. ther *Iacob*, and ſo all proceeded, as revenge from an old hatred, and yet of the ſeed of *Abraham* (you ſee) *by extraction*, and upon that ground, *Iſrael* inhibited to invade them. What is meant here by *remembring*, It is to be be interpreted

2. *by action and occaſion*; The event did beſt lead the uſe of the intent. It is not onely ſaid, remember with joy and pity, what you did, and they ſuffered in the day of battell till the going downe of the ſunne, but what they did to you, or attempted, and intended to have done. Remember that with all the grieving, galling aggravations of it; Clemencie will come in time enough, when you are ſafe ſetled in *Canaan*, and they paſt doing of miſchiefe. Remember them *Cum effectu*, ſo ſoone as you have peace abroad, remember to warre with them. Let them not reſt, nor rooſt among you; but diſquiet, diſtreſſe

diſtreſſe, and vex the Amalekites, recompence tribulation to them that thus troubled you, as farre as the ſword can reach, cut them off that trouble you. The reſt of the meaning we ſhall worke in occaſionally.

The nature of this Scripture fals into two conſiderations, *A judicial law* of that Nation, *Remember Amaleck*, and the *ground of it in a particular grievance*, what he did to you when you came out of Egypt: winde them up together, and they amount to this concluſion, *That this penall Proviſo, this Law of diffidation or defiance concerning Amaleck, was moſt reaſonably made.*

The Jeſuites, that are the *Novell Colledge of Auſtrian Augurs*, but too perfidious to be *Feciales*, and yet have given to themſelves *a faculty* to determine all caſes *in ordine ad ſpiritualia*; never meaſuring *truths* or *titles* by the *line of*

equity

equity, but the lash of ambition; these creatures that have more of the *diviners* in them than of the *divine*, will be content to hold Amaleck a type of Antichrist, and so this proceeding plausible, if we will but hold the great *Turke*, or the *Puritans* to be the *Antichrist*, but they must excuse us, and *Arminius* shall judge for mee (in his *publique determinations*) before he went to Rome who is cleare and conclusive, that the *Pope is that man of sinne*, that *servant of servants* that began to beate *his fellow servants*: But whether these men and their politike party conceive it reason or not, none but an Amalekite would require the disusage or repealing of it, or charge it as a bloody Law.

Thess. 22.

Moses did conceive it justifiable, who was no *cruell Law-giver*, and yet hee sets it home by all meanes

meanes to preſerve the memory (as ſee the originall relation at large, *Exod.* 17.) which he drew up not by private or onely ordinary diſcretion or aſſiſtance; but by the cleare immediate word and warrant of the Lord of hoaſts, as the expreſſe was to write it in a Booke, not to truſt tradition in the caſe, but it was a Bookt record paſt *in terminis* to poſterity; and further he built an Altar upon the place of victory, with the Lords name and power exerciſed in the cauſe that it might be a remembrancer, and the times to come admoniſhed by this monument of Gods mercy, and the Amalekites cruelty, and here laies it fully and cloſe home in a moſt pat particular precept, as a manifeſt of the Lords mind for the future in this buſineſſe.

Exod. 17.

Firſt, conſider it muſt needs be without peradventure right, be-

 cauſe

cauſe the Judge of all the World hath ſo declared it, and that in moſt expreſſe words, leaving no roome for any mitigation, reſtriction, limitation or interpretation favourable, gave no ground for quarter: that the Lord of grace, mercy, peace, ſhould thus bind up this buſineſſe of a perpetuall warre, you muſt needs conceive, and conclude there was great reaſon for it, and that will appeare, if you doe but conſider the grievance that gave ground for it.

There is in their injurious uſage all the juſtifiable cauſes of a legall warre. I doe not ſay that it was juſt or reaſonable for a private Iſraelite upon home-bred hatred to proſecute a private Amalekite to the death, or to reſerve revenge upon perſonall injuries, but to uſe particular men as *David* did the ſingle caſhiered ſervant of an Amalekite, fed him well to diſcover his

his maſter. No the Lord is not like *Molech* that loves to have blood in the unſavory ſacrifices of cruell private duels; let them ſingly ſubſiſt as civill men according to the lawes of nature, and humanity, *Non obſtante* the Nationall quarrell. This I propoſe not either as juſtifiable, or plauſible to bee practiſed, but this is the point that wee ſhall ſpeake to, That ſtates that move not neither upon anger nor ha- upon hatred but upon judgement and intereſt, neceſſity, publique utility, univerſall ſafety may move for ever to thoſe points, and cannot be miſtaken in thoſe affaires: Conſider to what the wiſeſt ſtatiſts, politicks and Civillians, reduce the reaſons of a juſtifiable war, and you will finde them all in this cauſe.

1 Sam. 30.

A war in it ſelfe is an appeale to heaven, by a ſword, when otherwaies of juſtice upon earth, either by witneſſes, oaths or leagus are made void

and invalid, that being forelaid we wil reduce these grounds to 3. heads.

1. The first ground of a lawfull war is in a way of just defence, which may lawfully in the progresse and processe of the worke be driven into an offensive, yea so farre that so they may satisfie and quiet future feares of being offended, and have active enemies bound to good behaviour, and give sufficient caution that they will not injure; and where this is not to be had or is not truely tendered, but all truces, treaties, and pacifications, have treachery under them, force is the safest way to assure it; but these Israelites had this reason: For they did purposely passe by without any shew of hostility, and exprest a command for their resolution. Therefore their first war was a defensive, driven the next day into an offensive, when they were not to let their just anger set with the sun, without they meant to give place to

these

these divellish men, for they would have fallen in with any side to molest them (as after they did in the lives of the Judges) so that it was not wisdome to forget them, that were resolved to make the name of Israel no more in remembrance. If they were aware of such deepe designes fixt as foundations of their ruine, they had reason by way of prevention, to anticipate future ruine by present revenge, for feare of a great neighbour, a just ground of war, if it be a legal feare, wch may fall in *constantem Societatem & senatum*, raised not onely from present preparations, but also from pregnant intentions and pretentions, as well assured as a morall matter may be, of a profest protested enemy, whose minde and will is to injure for ever, and has begun to doe it, and not from a floating resolution that may be conjectured to be better towards us, but from malignant malice: but this was the case of the Israelites having to doe with these enemies, therefore they had

Psal. 83.

reason to provide for future security wch could not be had so long as these men subsisted in any strength to hurt.

2. The second ground of a lawful war is, for reparation of losse and dammage either in person or goods, & that with relation to *damnum emergens*, in prosecution, or *lucrum Cessans*, if they had not bin molested. But these Amalekites cut off those persons, that the Lord valued at a great rate and ransome, and they could not recompence the Lord his dammage by one daies victory. And it may be they being the hindmost whó they smote in the reare, were laden with the riches of Egypt. So that the succeeding generation of Amalekites were to make satisfaction: especially cōsidering that their posterity would inherit their bloody hearts, and thirst to destroy & vex Israel upon old grounds and grudges, as see an instance in the last of that

Hest. 3. cursed, devoted stocke, hauty *Haman* the Agagite; his anger upon a fancie, soone rankled into a nationall hatred, and broke out into an universall pra-

ctise of his resolution of revenge, the reserving of *Agags* race had like to have cost deere; and therefore *Mordecai* did wisely to follow the blow, to ruine and root out all the faction that were his dependants, distributed into all Provinces, & to trouble Israel, had got all trust into their owne hands, for the execution of his cruell conspiracy against the Jewish Nation, and his wife well foretold him when hee began to fall, that he should fall flat, being *Mordecai* was a Jew, and the quarrell admitted no medium worke: *Mordecai* did well to heave him high, and lay him low, because all must downe, because not bowe, and be so base as to fall flat in a Persian prostituting prostration, with his hands behind him to execution. He would not so far forget himselfe, who was of the Jewish seed royall, whose place was to stand, not to fall in the Kings gate, to bow before the base remaines of a conquered people and a perfidious Traitor to the Persians Monarchy. The

2 Chro. 20. *See how they reward us for sparing of them.*

Brisson. de Regn. Persico l. 1

3. The third reason of a just warre, allowed by the laws of Nature, Nations, Armes & leagues is in a way of just revenge, that they may be proportionably punisht to their prodigious perfidious injustice, yea it was such an intollerable, illegall irregularity to persecute the poore and needy man, that they might even slay the broken in heart, that if Israel had not beene able and resolved to revenge and make this people passive in a penall way, their neighbour Nations (specially had it been in these or the times of the Grecian or Roman Monarchs) had been ingaged, though not cald for by the tacit, common consent of Nations, concurring for the good of mankind, as a sociable creature, they had been bound I say, to come in and assist to their uttermost. For it is in the power and is the worke of supreame States and Princes, not onely to defend and revenge injuries done to their owne subjects, but even to resist those that violate the

Psal. 109.

lawes

Laws of Nature, or Nations, & that not as they are over others, but as they are under none, and it ſeemes, and ſounds better, to vindicate others injuries then their own. Now they did come upon them againſt the Laws of Nations, being they fell upon ſuch as were weake, ſick, ſtrangers, unarmed, unable, men that were newly delivered out of cruell bondage, almoſt famiſhed before Manna came, and if it had not beene miraculouſly ſutable, it may be accidentally weakned with a new kind of diet, paid for all as they paſt, and profeſſed they meant it.

Amos 1 6.

Theſe and ſuch like, as deal injurioufly, againſt the law, and light of Nature, and the common good of Nations, are out-lawed, and *de jure* proſcribed, by theſe Laws, eſpecially theſe men that were the *Banditi* of the God of Heaven, that had baniſhed his feare, and ſo they were to be puniſhed for a manifeſt Nationall

contempt of God, as those that teach treachery, perfidiously practised perjury, permit piracy to the destroying of Civill society, and such like Enemies of Mankinde, a processe punitive is to bee executed upon them. *Bellum cum belluis bonum est.* Yea, when the Lord himselfe commanded *Saul* upon this service, 1 *Sam.*15. Hee does not barely say, Do you remember what *Amalek* did, but *I remember what* Amaleck *did; therefore doe you execute to the uttermost and destroy and spare not*: and the revenge of this wrong may most rightly be proportioned, not only to what they did, but what they would, intended, and were prepared to doe, and drive upon designe, that is to be considered, future, possible, probable mischiefe, to prevent a pernicious unpleasing president. For if these men, had bin flesht with successe, that first invaded *Israel*, or had procured, past, and paid, for their peace at an easie rate,

1 Sam.15.

rate, it would have invited others to invasive violence, yet what they did made such an impression of fear, that the Spies used the name of *Amaleck*, as an argument that they dwelt in the South, when they aimed to disparage the *Land of Promise, and discourage them from entring*. And therefore the Lord by *Moses* had reason to raise their spirits, by hopes of their ruine, who had shaken their confidence, by feare of being ruined by them. See what it cost the *Israelites* in hard measure, whensoever they faild in the execution of this command; God was reveng'd upon them, when ever they faild to take his vengeance. See what *Saul* lost by saving some of *Amaleck*, upon pious, peaceable, pretentions, as if hee so long after as a King had power to give pardon and relaxation from that penall Law; hee that would not cut off their posterity from the Earth, deprived his own of successi-

Numb 13.29.

on, though he was not put out of personall possession; that forgetting, neglecting, cast him out, and cut him off, and an *Amalekite* had a hand in his death, or hee braggingly belyed himselfe: yea, if he had done it fully, he had saved the burning of *Ziglag*, avoided much mischief and misery, spared *Davids* pains in the Case, and what hee faild in is recorded as a good worke, of the sons of *Simeon*, that they kild the rest of the *Amalekites*, and dwelt in their rooms, and fat pastures, did not leave a good land to them, and seek subsistence in the Wildernesse, but beat them out as intrenching, incroching intruders. Well, the Prophet *Samuel* from God, and the Witch of *Endor* from the Devil, did both tell *Saul* that this was his ruine.

1 Sam. 1. 8.

1 Sam 30.

1 Chron. 4.

Counsell.

The advice and Counsell that I would give to you upon this practick Conclusion is, that being you *ex professo* are the guard of good Laws, have

have the permiſſion and approbation of the State, for a ſchool of war, are the Chief *Legionaries* of this royall City, have or ought to have all privileges and accommodations, for exerciſe of arms, as the old ruling *Romans*, when they were in *ſtatu pacato*, their Empire at the higheſt pitch, and had done with enlargment of Dominion, they gave more privileges to the armed ſchools, then to the ſchools of Peace: Let me deſire you to make theſe inquiries.

Panicrol. de noticia Occidentalis Imperii c. 20.

Firſt, ſee if you have not ſuch condition'd Enemies.

Secondly, Whether there be not ſuch Records, and Acts of State entred againſt them.

Thirdly, if there be not reaſon to petition the execution of them.

Fourthly, whether you be not to be blamed for forgetting *Amaleck*. Deal clearly, and lay theſe conſiderations cloſe, it will be your wiſdom and your ſafety.

Firſt,

First consider if you, and all that are Israelites, in whom is no guile, have not such blood-thirsty, and deceitfull Enemies, that should not live out halfe their dayes; Let us speake out, they are the Iesuites, and the Iesuited faction, with their adherents, for they are of our kindred in Religion, by extraction a Bastard brood, that when wee came out of *Egypt* mysticall, they smote the hindmost, yea they have tryed all wayes to ruine Church and State, by Treasons, Rebellions, Invasions, Divisions, Civill wars at this time, are a fruit of their faction, fomẽted from cunning and mysticall hatred, they have been the Abettors and plotters, the great Sticklers in all the Disturbances of the Westerne World. Ever since the *Spanish* sword-man *Loiola* left the Leaguer, clapt himselfe up in a Cloyster, lapt in a gowne, all the destructive designes that have cast *Christendome* into confusion, have bin

bin hatcht under the covert and cunning of a Canonick weed; These men love alwayes to fish in troubled waters, and have blotted out *Beati pacifici* out of their Latine Liturgie: where they set their foote, and settle their society, Commonly they shake the peace, the Liberty and the Religion of the Countrey; honest men come thin, all their actions publike merit to be writ in Rubrick, not as of Saints, but as of sanguinary men who worke any way, by a *Sicilian Vespers*, or *Parisian Matins*, and in the name of Iesus doe the worke of *Iudas*; so that a man cannot tell whether their Trentish tyranny, and treachery, taste more of the new *Roman* Catholike or the old *Roman* Politick, sure they conclude of us, that the surest and shortest way to make us of their new Religion is first to make us of none, and so pitch downe principles of Atheisme, as men mad with reason, in stead of being Masters

ſters of it, and as they are Enemies of Grace, ſo they are Haters of peace, and worke againſt conſcience as the Enemies of mankind.

Secondly conſider if we have not Ordinances of State and Penall Proviſo's, againſt this factious fraternity, which were good and wholſome, and a work of neceſſity, which were not made againſt them for their meere Religion, as it reſts in opinion, but as their doctrine doth ingage them to Antichriſtian, Rebellious practiſes, that ruine by undermining Church and State if they keepe cloſe to the practicke Principles of their moderne Monkery: as to inſtance, was it not a neceſſary Law and full of reaſon, to deny thoſe men the freedome of their countrey, that plead exemption from the Lawes, and condemne them, that they may ſerve a forrein falſe friend, and live in theſe Dominions, and yet his ſubjects. Yea it wel deſerved to be

Ca-

Capitall punishment, if they offered to enter against this Proscription, and indeed, they have met with this measure, in all well tempered states in times when they were well awake, and aware; as consider in *France*, the Ordinances, Arrests, Requests, Decrees, Remonstrances, Advertisements, Defences, and Resolutions of the Councell of State, the Parliaments, Vniversities, and the whole Clergy. See the Protests, and *State*-Edicts of *Polonia*, the Restrictions, Deliberations, Proscriptions, and Clauses Conservative of the state of *Venice*, and Vniversity of *Padua*; Now if this Society was upon judgment discarded in these States, of their own religion, (when they were not ruled by their Papaline faction) as common Enemies of humane society, sure our Laws have much more reason to be laid on with more load to assure our safety being in greater danger.

3 Thirdly, passe and consider, whether there be not the same, and much more reason to continue, and petition the execution of them, *tot vigiliis concessa & promulgata*, we should be tender of disparaging, or disusage. If they be not to be executed, then wee are not the same Christian men, or they are not the same Instruments, and Enemies: But wee professe our selves Protestants, and they Protest us for Hereticks, and therefore we are no further safe, then they are cut short in power, or follow and fall in with their admonitions: which are to tolerate them so far to advance, as that they will not at last suffer us to subsist. See *Bellarmines* advise to King *Iames* of peaceable memory. *Si securus vitæ suæ velit regnare sinat Catholicos frui religione.* If this be their counsell, the doing otherwise is dangerous: and therefore all that conceive mitigation, or connivence, safe or seasonable, are very much, miserably, and

Torti 1610. Colon. p. 11.

and mischievously mistaken. Let us keep our selves as far as we can from Popery; for they are resolved, upon reasons of state, never to come near us: they have always the same Ends, but go severall ways to work. Complying is of a Confounding nature with these men whose Counsels admit no *medium*, nor moderation; they are resolved to make good a defection by a faction, expect not their favour, trust not their Faith, if they can but change their Fortune; yet they will be so wise, not to offend, till they can confound. Let us take a transitory view what they and their adherents work at this time, and you will say, not only old Laws, but even new ones, need be made, and executed upon them. Look not about you in these Cases, but above you; *It is a better bargain to be eaten by a Lion, then by Vermin.* Enquire who they be, that breed ill bloud betwixt the King and his people, that have puld so hard, to

draw a Civill ſword to the breaking of the happy Vnion of theſe Kingdomes, which hitherto have beene able to bid the World doe, as they would be done to. Believe it they go Antichriſtian ways by the Emperours favour to ruine the Empire; *And King* IAMES *wiſhes woe to them that durſt divide the weale of the King, from the weale of the Kingdome.*

His Speech in Parliament 1609.

Where they cannot move ſedition among the people, againſt their Prince, to make Conqueſts eaſie, there they will work any way, to provoke the Prince againſt the people, they will joyne with any party, to ruine the whole; ſet Kingdomes together, and beat them ſingle, when they are poore, and paſſive; they deal with us, yea, with the beſt in the State, as *Haman* the *Amalekite* did with *Mordecay*, ſuppreſſe all their good ſervice, tho it be upon record; they

Heſt. 3.

they will be the only good ſubjects and ſeeke to caſt all into an ill caſe, that they may make themſelves neceſſary by engaging the publike power, to ſerve their ends and intereſts; Call other men Traitors, when they themſelves are the rankeſt Rebels; render religious Chriſtians as ill affected civill ſubjects: and revile the wiſdome, conſcience, and repreſentation of a State in Parliament, as a Faction, a Combination, a pack of *Puritans*; but wee hope before long, the word *Puritan* ſhall prove a good name, when ſome of theirs may degenerate. This party are they that have taught the Princes of Chriſtendome Principles of tyranny and then accuſe Religion for breeding ſeeds of Rebellion.

Fourthly, Conſider, whether we be not to be blamed, for forgetting *Amaleck*. Take theſe ſeverall ſubordinate wayes, to conſider whether you re-

remember them or not: and let no man ſay, I might have ſhewed more moderation & diſcretion to come off at large, fair, and afar off; active circumſpection is to be praid for in the Caſe; but for this omiſſive, dimme, diſſembling Neuter, negative good manners, I underſtand it not, but as the fault, and folly of the times: and yet I ſhall keep within my bounds; though theſe Ieſuits ſtatizing would call us out of our ſtation, to ſtudie Politicks, if it be but to countermine them, who are ſo devoted to Court, with ſuch ſecular ſolicitude; as if they were able to prove, there were no other Heaven; and I ſhall plead for peace, if it be but becauſe ſome of the Clergy are charged, as the Authors of the War.

Firſt, Conſider if you have remembred to pray againſt *Amaleck*, and ſo hold up the Magiſtrates hands that they may fall under a Civill ſword; theſe men would ſurely hold

you

you off from comming to God, that urge it ſo odiouſly, as an intolerable inſolency, to petition the King againſt thoſe grievances, that ariſe from their falſe ſuggeſtions: whereby the wiſeſt of Princes may be miſinformed, though they cannot be miſtaken; (as I heard his Majeſty ſay in the Caſe) who graciouſly invites to petition. Tis a moſt prodigious courſe, to deny that to the beſt, which was never denied to the worſt of men, in the worſt times, which is leave to petition. That wee ſhould undergo the worſt of government, under the beſt of Princes, is the depth of miſery, and therefore pray that God would remember their iniquities that have thus reacht to Heaven. Rev. 18.

Secondly, Conſider if you doe not contradict, and croſſe your own prayers, by preſuming to ſave, ſome of the fatteſt for a ſacrifice, to comply withall; Mercy to theſe upon affection, is cruelty to your ſelves upon judg-

judgment. *David* gave a command, upon private, paternall affection, to ſpare *Abſolom*; and grieved beyond meaſure, upon the ſame grounds, when he was cut off; and therefore *Ioab* did well and wiſely (and *David* had reaſon to take it well in coole blood) as to take off an evill inſtrument, ſo alſo reſpectively to remember the King, that he was miſtaken in his paſſion, when the State had loſt ſo great an Enemy. *Samuel* was no cruell man, and yet he was reſolved, to hew *Agag* in pieces: If wee ſhew pity becauſe they come with halters about their necks, they will ſoon ſhift them, and ſtrangle us.

Thirdly, Conſider what you poſitively performe againſt them, to ſecond, and give ſucceſſe to your prayers: I ſpeake not that meere private men, ſhould upon meer perſonall malice, proſecute the particular perſons of any *Romiſh* Recuſants, that are otherwiſe Civill ſubjects, and di-

ſturbe

ſturbe not the State : or that a Prince ſhould publikely, and ſolemnly invade, only to ſettle Religion, or extirpate Hereſie, without the mixture of Civill Titles; that is the Ieſuits Divinity, and I wiſh them enough of it: but this is it I would have you doe, Take care that Apoſtates be ſeverely puniſhed, & thoſe that ſeduce them, or lay grounds for it: for if theſe *Amalekites*, that were external Enemies, far from home, were to be remembred, and ruined, how are ours to be regarded, that are in the Commonwealth, but not of it, but fully and fouly againſt it, knotted into a great party, tied in dependance to the greateſt forrein Enemy. Theſe men ſtrike at Church and State at a blow, being the anchor of the State is Religion, which if ſhaken, the State will float; and for fundamentall Laws they pull them up, that they may pull us down; and that againſt the originall of all Civill government. For

when by common consent, men fell upon a Regiment, and at first permitted all, to the wisdome and discretion of Governours, chosen by themselves, and after by experience found, the remedy in this Course, worse then the disease; they saw, I say, to live by one mans will, was the ground of all mens misery: then they were constrained to Come to Laws, (not only admit a Councell for assistance:) and whosoever infringes such Laws, is an absolute, insolent Enemy of the Common good. But you will still demand of me what you must doe? I can better tell you what you must not suffer, them to do.

Hooker l.1. Numb.10.

And let no insolent, obnoxious Disturber, or Innovatour in Church or State, say that these Discourses must not be brookt. I must tell them, tis true, that in peaceable times, when all passe calmely along, the *Locrians* Law was of force: but *in statu perturbato*

turbato, & quasi in maligno posito, in a Common and Calling Calamity (as Religion is a Calling Cause) advice is welcome from any hand, being there is a tacit consent of States, in extraordinary times, to allow extraordinary undertakings; witness on the wrong side, their Quotidian, double-tertian, distemperd projects, which depend, like sickmens Dreams: they that like not this, I wish they mean no worse; for that State that can bear a Civill War, may very well away with Civill Memento's, to prevent it. Take therefore these Considerations, which I desire to lay down, with Cautions restrictive, and directive, to keep within the compasse of obedience, and the peace of Church and State, which I leave to wise and active men to accommodate.

First, consider, that in an Exigent, and unexpected turn of State, perniciously procured by these *British*

This was delivered the day after the Lords Petition.

malekites : there are Certain ways to come to the King for relief and redreſs, which at other times are not allowable, ſee it in *Heſters* Caſe, Though it be not according to Law (ſays ſhee) yet if you will faſt and pray, I will go to the King, whatever come of it. Iudicious Biſhop *Bilſon* ſpeaks cloſe in the Caſe, and I dare not condemne him, neither need I, being allowed by the State, when this Monarchie was in a moſt Majeſtick height.

H.8.4

Bilſon 3 part of Chriſtian Subject. on p. 28.

Secondly, conſider that when a party by power breaks the Laws of the Land, that they may break the Laws of God, and thereby force you to goe along as their friends, or put you to make a ſtand, and ſo conclude you the States Enemies, where the Laws of the Land are thus by them made too ſhort for your ſecurity, the Laws of Nations come in for reliefe, till it can be otherwiſe provided: for twas never intended by Law-makers, to

lay

lay them on, with ſo rigid a will, but that ſtill, *ſalus populi* ſhould be *ſola, & ſuprema lex*; and no State did ever intend, to caſt it ſelfe into a deſperate Caſe, by good Laws; ſo that as for the good of the perſon of a Prince, there are not only allowed, *jura dominationis*, but alſo *arcana dominationis*: ſo for the ſafety of the body of the State, there are *arcana*, Latitudes allowed for ſecurity; eſpecially when the Enemies (who are not true Inſtruments but Tools of State, *Dominationum Proviſores*, Purveyers of uſurpation, that worke through *Alps*, or Conſcience) have concluded, they loſe not reputation, nor abuſe Religion, if they get their Ends: In ſuch a Caſe Rationall *Grotius* is cleer, that *in graviſsimo & certiſsimo diſcrimine, lex de non reſiſtendo, non obligat*; but I hope he meant it tenderly.

De jure belli & pacis l. 1. c. 40.

Thirdly, conſider that the States of a Kingdome, either actually aſſembled in a repreſentative body, or virtually

Consiliarii nati ratione nobilitatis licet non ratione officii Ordinari.

tually concurring in a common resolution, for the common good, and only hindred from assembling by the common Enemy; it is affirmed, by the greatest Assertors of Regall Royalty, that they may goe very far, before they can be counted Rebels, or be mistaken. 'Twas foolish, churlish *Nabals* judgment, that cald *David*, & his Company Runnagates, when wise *Abigail*, tho shee submitted to *saul*, as her King, yet acknowledged *David* to fight the Lords battails.

1 Sam. 25.

Fourthly, Consider, and make a reall difference betwixt the Christians suffering with prayers and tears in the Primitive Church, under Heathenish Emperours, when their Religion was not so much as tolerated, but condemned by the Laws of the Empire, and the sufferings of State, where the Religion is *Lex terræ*, setled and protected by the Civil Laws and power, and all caution, that can be

Bishop of *Durham* Sermon before the King 1639.

be given to assure it, and affronted by a schismatical faction, not so much tolerated, but protested, and condemned, Idolatrous and Antichristian, and cannot consist, with the standing of the state. The thus appearing not for a popular but a politick liberty, must be interpreted by clemencie, (a vertue of as much policie as piety in a Prince) as serious *Seneca*, *Clementia hostes dimittit salvos, aliquando laudatos, si honestis causis, pro fide, pro fœdere vel pro libertate*: Be wise, be resolute for you have *Amalekites* amongst you.

Senec de Clement. l. 2. c. 7.

At a Committee of the Honourable the Commons House of Parliament, It is ordered that this Sermon be published in print.

Sir Edward Dering

Knight and Baronet.

A DISSERTATION WITH Dr. Heylyn:

Touching

The pretended SACRIFICE in the EUCHARIST,

By

George Hakewill, Doctor in Divinity, and Archdeacon of *Surrey*.

Publiſhed by Authority.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. R.* for *George Thomaſon*, and *Octavian Pullen*, and are to be ſold at the Roſe in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1641.

A DISSERTATION WITH Dr HEYLYN, WHETHER THE EUCHARIST be a Sacrifice, *Properly* so termed, and that according to the doctrine and practise of the Church of *England* now in force.

THIS the Doctor, that he may the better defend the situation of the Lords Table Altarwise, confidently maintaineth in sundry places of his *Antidotum Lincolniense*. Nay so farre he goeth in the maintenance hereof, as if without this *nothing else but ruine and confusion, were to be expected in the Church of God*. And on the other side I am as confident, that he is the first of the reformed Churches who ever published this Doctrine; nay all Divines of those Churches, as well forraign as our own (whom I have read on that Subject) with one generall consent constantly maintain the clean contrary, as I trust I shall make it evidently appear in this

Cap. 5. p. 26. cap. 6. pag. 44. & 67.

 ensuing

enſuing Treatiſe, wherein I will firſt ſhew the defects, which I conceive to be in the Doctors diſcourſe, ſecondly I will endeavour to anſwer his arguments, and thirdly I will produce ſuch teſtimonies drawn from the writings of our Divines as make againſt him.

CHAP. I.

Of the defects of the Doctors diſcourſe, of this Subject.

TWo things me thinks I finde wanting in this his diſcourſe, whereof the one is the definition of a Sacrifice, *Properly* ſo called, the other is how it can properly be termed a Sacrifice, and yet be onely commemorative, or repreſentative as he cals it.

Touching the firſt of theſe, unleſſe the thing be firſt defined, whereof men diſpute, all their diſputation muſt needs prove fruitleſſe in the end, this then becauſe the Doctor hath omitted, I will indeavour to finde out the definition of a Sacrifice *Properly* ſo called. Saint *Auguſtine* in his 10. Book *de Civit. Dei* and 6. *cap.* teacheth that, *Verum ſacrificium eſt omne opus quod agitur ut ſanctâ ſocietate inhæreamus Deo relatum ſcilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati eſſe poſſimus.* Where by *verum* I do not beleeve that he underſtands a truth of *propriety*, but of excellency, and ſo much I think will eaſily appear by thoſe words of his in the Chapter going before. *Illud quod ab hominibus appellatur Sacrificium, ſignum eſt veri Sacrificii*, where undoubtedly by the true Sacrifice he underſtands either the inward Sacrifice of the

the heart, or the Sacrifice of religious actions flowing from thence, which he makes to be the true Sacrifice in regard of excellency, though *improperly* so called, and the outward Sacrifice to be but a signe of this, though *Properly* so called; In which regard *Bellarmine* in his first Book *de Missa*, and second Chapter rejects this definition, or rather description, as not agreeing to a Sacrifice *Properly* so called, which he proves by many reasons, and thereupon brings another of his own which is this, *Sacrificium est oblatio externa facta soli Deo, qua ad agnitionem humanæ infirmitatis & professionem divinæ majestatis à legitimo ministro res aliqua sensibilis & permanens ritu mystico consecratur & transmutatur.* The particular parts of this definition he afterwards explicates, and tels us that the last word *transmutatur* is therefore added, *Quia ad verum Sacrificium requiritur, ut id quod offertur Deo in Sacrificium planè destruatur, id est ita mutetur ut desinat esse id quod antea erat.* And least we should mistake him, within a while after he repeats the same in effect again, giving us a double reason thereof, whereof the latter is *quia Sacrificium est summa protestatio Subjectionis nostræ ad Deum, summa autem illa protestatio requirit ut non usus rei Deo offeratur sed ipsa etiam substantia, & ideo non solum usus sed substantia consumatur.* And this condition in a Sacrifice *properly* so called is likewise required by our own men, as namely by Doctor *Field* in his Appendix to his third Book of the Church. If we will Sacrifice a thing unto God (saith he) we must not onely present it unto him, but consume it also. Thus in the Leviticall law, things sacrificed that had life were killed, Pag. 207.

 things

things without life, if they were ſolid, were burnt, if liquid, powred forth and ſpilt.

Now this ground being thus laid, I would willingly learn of the Doctor what ſenſible thing it is in his Sacrifice, which is thus deſtroyed or conſumed in regard of the being or ſubſtance thereof.

A He muſt of neceſſity anſwer (as I conceive) that either it is the elements of bread and wine, or the ſacred Body and Bloud of Chriſt; but how the bread and wine may be ſaid to be conſumed in regard of their ſubſtance, without admitting tranſubſtantiation I cannot imagine, unleſſe perchance he will ſay that it is by eating the one, and drinking the other; but theſe being acts common to the people, with the Prieſt, if the eſſence and perfection of the Sacrifice ſhould conſiſt in this, he will be forced to admit of ſo many Sacrificers, as there are Communicants, which I preſume he will not acknowledge. And if he will have it ſtand in the eating and drinking of the Prieſt alone, in caſe he ſhould put it up again before it be conſumed, the Sacrifice muſt needs be fruſtrated, and if he keep it within him, and ſo conſume it by digeſtion, the Altar will rather be his ſtomack, then the Lords Table.

Beſides, the Sacrifice of Chriſtians *properly* ſo called, being but one, and that by many degrees more noble and excellent then any, either before

B or under the law, if *Bread and Wine* were the Subject matter thereof, it would both overthrow the unity of the Sacrifice, in as much as both theſe are often renewed, and in it ſelf be of leſſe valew and dignity

dignity then many of the Jewiſh Sacrifices, which I think the Doctor will not grant. But *happily he* will ſay that thoſe elements, though in themſelves they be of no great value, yet in regard of myſticall ſignification, they farre excell the Sacrifices of the Jews. Whereunto I anſwer, that thoſe of the Jews beſides, that they were Sacrifices indeed *properly* ſo called, in themſelves they had the ſame ſignification, and were chieſly to that end ordained by the Author of them, the main difference being, that they looked unto Chriſt to come, but we unto the ſame Chriſt already come, by meanes whereof our happineſſe is that, that now by Gods bleſſing we need no Sacrifices properly ſo called, but reſt onely and wholly upon that all-ſufficient Sacrifice which he once for all offred up for us.

It remaines then that if the Bread and Wine be not the Subject matter of this Sacrifice, the Body and Bloud of Chriſt muſt be, and that not ſymbolically, but *properly*, otherwiſe the Sacrifice it ſelf cannot be *proper*, which aſſertion will of neceſſity inferre either the tranſubſtantiation of the Pontificians or the *conſubſtantiation* of the Ubiquitaries. And again, If the Body and Bloud of Chriſt be the ſubject matter of the Sacrifice, it muſt be viſibly and ſenſibly there, according to *Bellarmines* own definition before laid down; Neither will it ſuffice to ſay (as he doth) that it is viſible under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine, for ſo it may be viſible to the faith of thoſe that beleeve it, but to the ſenſe (which is the thing he requires as a neceſſary condition in a Sacrifice properly ſo called) it is not viſible. Neither

C

ther can that be said properly visible, which is not so in it self, but in another thing, for then the soul might be said to be visible, though it be onely seen in the body, and not in it self; nay, the soul might better be said to be seen in the body, then the body of Christ in the bread, in as much as the soul is the essentiall form of the body, but I trust they will not say, that the Body of Christ is so in regard of the accidents of bread.

Lastly, how the Body and Bloud of Christ may be truely, and properly said so to be consumed, *ut planè destruatur, ut desinat esse id quod ante erat, ut substantia consumatur*, (which the Cardinall likewise requires in his Sacrifice *properly* so called) [d] *for my* part I must professe, I cannot possibly understand, for to say as he doth, that the Body of Christ is consumed in the Sacrifice not *secundum esse naturale*, but *Sacramentale*, cannot reach to his phrase of *planè destruitur, substantia consumitur*, as any weak Scholler may easily discern, and in truth he doth in the explication of this point (touching the essence of this Sacrifice, wherein it consists, and the manner of consuming the Body of Christ therein) so double and stagger as a man may well see he was much perplexed therein, wandring up and down in a labarynth, not knowing which way to get out, and so [e] I leave him.

D

E

Lib. 1. de Missa cap. 27.

The other defect which I finde in the Doctors discourse, touching this point is, that he doth not shew us how a commemorative, or representative Sacrifice (as he every where termes it) is a Sacrifice *properly* so called. This proposition that the Eucha-

rist

rist is a commemorative Sacrifice properly so called, I shall easily grant if the Word properly be referred to the adjunct not to the Subject. Commemorative it is *properly* called, but *improperly* a Sacrifice. And herein I think do all writers agree, as well Romish as Reformed (I mean that it is a Sacrifice Commemorative) and therefore *Bellarmine* disputes the point in no lesse then 27. Chapters of his first Book *de Missa*, against the Reformed Divines to prove that it is a Sacrifice *properly* so called, and yet acknowledgeth that his adversaries confesse it to be a Sacrifice Commemorative, but himself and his adherents, though together with the Protestants they acknowledge it to be a Sacrifice Commemorative, yet they rest not in that, because they knew full well, it was not sufficient to denominate it a *proper* Sacrifice. And in very truth it stands with great reason that the Commemoration or representation of a thing should be both in nature and propriety of speech distinct from the thing it commemorates or represents; As for the purpose, he who represents a King upon the stage [f], is commonly called a King, yet in propriety of speech he cannot be so tearmed, unlesse he likewise be a King in his own person; And therefore it is that we confesse the Jewish Sacrifices to be *properly* so termed, because they were not onely prefigurative of the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Crosse, but were really and absolutely so in themselves, and if this could once be soundly demonstrated of the Eucharist, the controversie would soon be at an end, but till then in saying we have a representative Sacrifice can no more prove it to be a Sacrifice properly so called, then

F

 the

the prefiguration of the Jewish Sacrifices without any further addition could prove them so to be, which I presume no Divine will take upon him to maintain.

Now that which confirmes me herein is that both the master of the Sentences, and *Aquinas*, the two great leaders of the Schoolemen terming the Eucharist a *commemorative*, withall they held it to be an *improper* Sacrifice, and to this purpose they both alleage the authorities of the Fathers; which makes me beleeve that they conceived the Fathers, who in their writings frequently call it a Sacrifice to be understood and interpreted in that sense; The former of them in his 4. Book and 12. destinction makes the question, *Quæritur si quod gerit sacerdos propriè dicatur Sacrificium vel immolatio, & si Christus quotidiè immoletur vel semel tantum immolatus sit*, to which he briefly answers, *Illud quod offertur & consecratur à sacerdote vocari Sacrificium & oblationem, quia memoria & repræsentatio veri Sacrificii & sanctæ immolationis factæ in ara crucis*; which is as much in effect as if he had said it is a commemoration of the true and proper Sacrifice of Christ upon the Crosse, but in it self improperly so called, and that this is indeed his meaning it sufficiently appears throughout that distinction.

With *Lombard* doth *Aquinas* herein likewise accord, *Parte. 3. quæst. 73. art. 4. in conclusione Eucharistiæ Sacramentum ut est dominicæ passionis commemorativum, Sacrificium nominatur*. Where it is observable that he saith not *Sacrificium est*, but onely *nominatur*, and what his meaning therein was, appears of that Article which is this. *Hostia videtur idem esse quod Sacrificium*,

ficium, sicut ergo non proprie dicitur Sacrificium ita nec proprie dicitur hostia. Which though it be an objection, yet he takes it as granted that it is *Sacrificium improprie dictum,* at leastwise as it is *commemorativum* or *representativum*; and therefore to that objection doth he shape this answer, *Ad tertium dicendum quod hoc Sacramentum dicitur Sacrificium in quantum repræsentat ipsam passionem Christi, &c. dicitur autem hostia in quantum continet ipsum Christum qui est hostia salutaris.*

Chap. II.

Of the Sacrifice pretended to be due by the light of nature.

FRom the defects in the Doctors discourse, we now come to his arguments drawn from the light of nature, from the institution of the Eucharist, from the authority of the Fathers, from the doctrine and practise of the Church of *England,* and lastly from the testimony of the Writers thereof, I will follow him step by step, and begin first with the light of nature, with which he begins his fifth Chapter.

"It is (saith he) the observation of *Eusebius,* that "the Fathers which preceded *Moses,* and were quite "ignorant of his law, disposed their wayes accor-"ding to a voluntary kinde of piety, βίῳ μὲν τῷ κατὰ "τὴν φύσιν κεκοσμημένοι framing their lives and actions "according to the law of nature. Which Words "(saith the Doctor) relate not onely to their morall "conversation as good men, but to their carriage "in respect of Gods publike worship as religious "men. But by this glosse I doubt he corrupts the text of the Author, sure I am, the words he alleageth

out of him do not reach home to his interpretation, neither do I think it can be maintained, or that it was the minde of *Eusebius*, that the Patriarchs before *Moses* worshipped God, *according to a voluntary kinde of piety*. Which is by the Apostle in expresse terms condemned, *Col.* 2. 23. and if their worship had relation to the *Messias* that was to come (wherein all Divines I presume agree) I do not see how he can affirm that they framed their religion according to the light of nature, which without the help of a supernaturall illumination could not direct them to
Joh. 8, 56. the *Messias*. It is indeed said of *Abraham, that he saw the day of Christ and rejoyced*, no doubt but the same might as truly be verefied of all the other beleeving Patriarcks, as well before, as after him; But that either he or they saw Christs day by the light of nature, that shall I never beleeve, and I think the Doctor cannot produce me so much as one good Author who ever affirmed it; but on the other side with one consent they teach, that as in morall actions they lived according to the light of nature, so in religious they were in a speciall manner inspired and directed by God himself. If that of the
Rom 14. 23. Apostle be true. That *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*;
Heb. 11 6 and again, that *without faith it is impossible to please God*. Faith being grounded upon the Commandements, and promises of God, it cannot be that their worship should be acceptable unto him without speciall command from him.

From the worship of God in generall the Doctor descends to the particu'ar by way of Sacrifice, affirming that it is likewise grounded upon the light of nature; which if it be so, undoubtedly it binds all men

men, the law of nature being common to all, and consequently to us Christians, as well as to the Patriarcks before *Moses*. Now that some kinde of Sacrifice is from all men due unto Almighty God, I do not deny, but that outward Sacrifice, properly so called (which is the point in controversie) should be from all men due unto him by the light of nature; that I very much doubt. It is the conclusion of *Aquinas*. *Omnes tenentur aliquod interius Sacrificium Deo offerre, devotam videlicet mentem, & exterius Sacrificium eorum ad quæ ex præcepto tenentur, sive sint virtutum actus sive certæ & determinatæ oblationes*; and farther for mine own part I dare not go. 22. Qu. 85. art. 3.

The Doctor instanceth in the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*, which he seemeth to say were offred by the light of nature, whereas of *Abel* we read, that *by faith he offered unto God a more excellent Sacrifice then Cain*. Now faith there cannot be without obedience, nor true obedience without a precept, and if perchance it be said that the excellency of the Sacrifice was from faith, not the Sacrifice it self, for then *Cain* should not have offered at all, I thereunto answer that although *Cain* did not offer by faith, or inspiration from God, yet it may well be that he did it by instruction from his Father, who was inspired from God. And besides his Sacrifices being of the fruits of the earth might rather be called an offring (as in the Text it is) then a Sacrifice *properly* so termed according to *Bellarmines* definition. And for *Abel* it is the resolution of the same *Bellarmine* (which for mine own part, I take to be sound) *Deus qui primus sine dubio inspiravit Abeli & aliis sanctis viris usum Sacrificiorum voluit per ea Sacrificia, Sacrificiũ omniũ* Heb 11. 4. Lib. 1. de Missa cap 2.

ficiorum præstantissimum adumbrari.

The Doctors next instance is *Noahs* Sacrifice, touching which the same may be said as formerly of *Abels*, neither indeed can we with reason imagine that God should in other matters by divine inspiration, so particularly instruct him, and leave him onely to the light of Nature, in the worship of himself, or that *Adam* in the state of incorrupt nature was instructed by God in the duties of his service, and his posterity therein left to the light of corrupt nature.

Besides this, some things there are by the Doctor affirmed of this Sacrifice, not so justifiable I doubt as were to be wished; as first that it was an Eucharisticall Sacrifice, not typicall, whereas all Divines that I have seen, make all the Sacrifices commanded by God, as well before the law, as under the law to have been typicall. That is some way significant of Christ to come, they being all as so many visible Sermons of that all-sufficient Sacrifice, through which God is onely well pleased with those which worship him. And again, the text making it by the Doctors own confession an Holocaust or burnt offring which *Noah* offred, I see not how he can onely make it Eucharisticall, in as much as *Philo* the Jew (who should know what belonged to the distinction of Sacrifices) in his Book purposely written of that Subject, thus writes of them. *Sacrificia omnis ad tria redegit legislator, Holocaustum, pacifica sive salutare, & Sacrificium pro peccatis.* *Noahs* Sacrifice then being a burnt offring, it could not be meerely Eucharisticall, but I rather beleeve it might participate somewhat of all three kindes, and as little doubt but

that

that it was in all three respects significative of Christ to come.

The Doctors third instance, is in *Melchisedech*, who indeed is said to have been a Priest of the most high God, and that being a Priest, he offred Sacrifice, I make no doubt, but very much doubt whether he offred Sacrifice, or were a Priest by the light of nature, especially considering that Christ himself was a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*.

Now whereas the Doctor confidently makes *Sem* to have been the eldest sonne of *Noah*, he hath therein against him, not onely the learned *Iunius*, but *Lyranus*, *Tostatus*, *Genebrard*, and the Hebrew Doctors. And again, whereas he seemes to follow the common opinion heretofore received, that *Melchisedech* was *Sem*; I think he cannot be ignorant that both *Paræus* and *Pererius* have proved the contrary by so invincible arguments, as there needs no further doubt to be made thereof.

The Doctors conclusion of this argument drawn from the light of Nature is this, That there was never any nation, but had some religion, nor any religion (if men civilized) but had Altars, Priests, and Sacrifices as a part thereof, or dependents thereupon. The former part of which position I will not examine, though our planters in *Virginia* and *New-England*, can not (as they report) finde any acts of religion exercised by the natives of those Countries, but for the latter part thereof, I know not why he should exclude the uncivilized nations, from acts flowing from the light of nature, such as he makes the use of Sacrificing to be, unlesse withall he will exclude them from the use of reason. And

surely

surely were the use of Sacrifices grounded upon the light of nature, not upon Divine precept; I do not see why the Jews should be tyed to offer them onely at *Ierusalem*; nor yet why the Mahometans (who farre exceed the Christians in number, and in civility are little inferiour to many of them) should use no Sacrifice at all.

Lastly for the *Greecians*, *Romans*, and other nations, who used Sacrifices as the principall act of their religion, it may well be that they borrowed it from the Church of God by an apish imitation, or that they received by tradition from their predecessors, who were sometimes of the Church of God (which are the conjectures of the Doctor himself) either of which might serve without deriving it from the light of nature.

Chap. III.

Of the institution of the Eucharist, whether it imply a Sacrifice, and of the Altar mentioned by St Paul, Hebrews 13.

G

THe Doctor bears us in hand, that our Saviour instituted a Sacrifice perpetually to remain in his Church, and a new Priesthood properly so called, when he ordained the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and to this purpose he brings the words of *Irenæus*, *Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem*; But that *Irenæus* intended not a Sacrifice *properly* so called, the learned *Zanchius* in his first Book *de cultu Dei externo*, hath made it as clear as the noon-day, and to him I referre both the Doctor and the Reader, who desires satisfaction therein.

Lib. 4. ca. 32.

Cap. 16.

From the testimony of *Irenæus*, the Doctor comes to

to the words of institution recorded by Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 11. And indeed here should in all likelyhood have been the place, to lay the foundation for a new Sacrifice and Priesthood if any such *properly* so called had been intended by our Saviour under the Gospell, but neither there, nor in the Evangelists do we finde any mention at all of either of these; which the Doctor perceiving well enough, goes on from the words of institution, *Vers.* 23, 24, 25. and tels us that if they expresse not plain enough the nature of this Sacrifice to be commemorative, we may take those that follow by way of commentary, *Vers.* 26. *For as often as ye eate this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lords death till he come.* Which words are doubtlesse directed to all the faithfull in the Church of *Corinth* and in them to all Christians, so as the Doctor will be forced either to prove his Sacrificing from eating and drinking, and withall to admit all Christians to do Sacrifice (against both which in the same leaf he solemnly protests) or to seek out some other place to prove it.

But for the Priesthood he pretends to have found that in the words of our Saviour, *Hoc facite*, for the "Apostles (saith he) and their Successours in the "Priesthood, there is an *edite* and *bibite* as private "men of no orders in the Church; but there is an "*Hoc facite* belonging to them onely as they are "Priests under and of the Gospell. *Hoc facite* is for "the Priest who hath power to consecrate, *Hoc edite* "both for the Priest and people, who are admitted "to communicate. And again, within a while after, "The people being prepared may *edere* and *bibere*, "but they must not *facere*, that belongs onely to the

 Priests

surely were the use of Sacrifices grounded upon the light of nature, not upon Divine precept; I do not see why the Jews should be tyed to offer them onely at *Ierusalem*; nor yet why the Mahometans (who farre exceed the Christians in number, and in civility are little inferiour to many of them) should use no Sacrifice at all.

Lastly for the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and other nations, who used Sacrifices as the principall act of their religion, it may well be that they borrowed it from the Church of God by an apish imitation, or that they received by tradition from their predecessors, who were sometimes of the Church of God (which are the conjectures of the Doctor himself) either of which might serve without deriving it from the light of nature.

Chap. III.

Of the institution of the Eucharist, whether it imply a Sacrifice, and of the Altar mentioned by St Paul, Hebrews 13.

G

THe Doctor bears us in hand, that our Saviour instituted a Sacrifice perpetually to remain in his Church, and a new Priesthood properly so called, when he ordained the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and to this purpose he brings the words of *Irenæus*, *Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem*; But that *Irenæus* intended not a Sacrifice *properly* so called, the learned *Zanchius* in his first Book *de cultu Dei externo*, hath made it as clear as the noon-day, and to him I referre both the Doctor and the Reader, who desires satisfaction therein.

Lib. 4. ca. 32.

Cap. 16.

From the testimony of *Irenæus*, the Doctor comes to

to the words of institution recorded by Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 11. And indeed here should in all likelyhood have been the place, to lay the foundation for a new Sacrifice and Priesthood if any such *properly* so called had been intended by our Saviour under the Gospell, but neither there, nor in the Evangelists do we finde any mention at all of either of these; which the Doctor perceiving well enough, goes on from the words of institution, *Vers.* 23, 24, 25. and tels us that if they expresse not plain enough the nature of this Sacrifice to be commemorative, we may take those that follow by way of commentary, *Vers.* 26. *For as often as ye eate this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lords death till he come.* Which words are doubtlesse directed to all the faithfull in the Church of *Corinth* and in them to all Christians, so as the Doctor will be forced either to prove his Sacrificing from eating and drinking, and withall to admit all Christians to do Sacrifice (against both which in the same leaf he solemnly protests) or to seek out some other place to prove it.

But for the Priesthood he pretends to have found that in the words of our Saviour, *Hoc facite*, for the "Apostles (saith he) and their Successours in the "Priesthood, there is an *edite* and *bibite* as private "men of no orders in the Church; but there is an "*Hoc facite* belonging to them onely as they are "Priests under and of the Gospell. *Hoc facite* is for "the Priest who hath power to consecrate, *Hoc edite* "both for the Priest and people, who are admitted "to communicate. And again, within a while after, "The people being prepared may *edere* and *bibere*, "but they must not *facere*, that belongs onely to the

"Priests who claim that power from the Apostles, "on them conferred by their redeemer. Thus he, as if *facere* and *Sacrificare* were all one, which indeed some of the Romanists endeavour to prove, but so vainly, so ridiculously, so injuriously to the text, (as my Lord of *Duresme* hath learnedly shewed) as it appears to be a foundation too sandy to lay such a building upon it.

Of the Sacrament, *lib. 6. c. 1.*

But will the Doctor be pleased to hear Bishop *Iewells* opinion of these words, whom he seemeth in some places to reverence. That incomparable Bishop then in his defence of his 17th Article thus writes thereof. Neither did Christ by these words, Do ye this in remembrance of me, erect any new succession of Sacrificers to offer him up really unto his Father, nor ever did any ancient learned Father so expound it, Christs meaning is clear by the words that follow, for he saith not onely, *do ye this*, but he addeth also *in my remembrance*, which *doing* pertaineth not onely to the Apostles, and their Successors, (as Mr *Harding* imagineth) but to the whole congregation of *Corinth*, *As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew forth the Lords death untill he come*. Likewise Saint *Chrysostome* (saith he) applyeth the same, not onely to the Clergy, but also to the whole people of his Church at *Antioch*.

And truely I think this Doctor is the first of the reformed Churches, that ever restrained those words of our Saviour to the Clergy alone, or grounded the Priesthood upon them. Nay the Romanists themselves finde this ground to be so feeble, as by the evidence of truth it self, they are beaten from it, and even forced to forsake it.

Iansenius

Iansenius Bishop of *Gant* in his Commentaries on the Gospels, *Cap.* 131. *Sunt qui Sacramentum illud esse Sacrificium ostendere conantur ex verbo* Facite, *quia illud aliquando accipitur pro Sacrificare, at hoc argumentum parum est firmum.*

Alanas Cardinalis *lib. de Eucharistia, c.*10. *p.*255. *Hoc facite*] *pertinet ad totam actionem Eucharisticam à Christo factam, tam a Presbyteris quam à plebe faciendam. Hoc probat ex Cyril. lib.*12. *in Ioh. ca.*58. *ex Basilio. lib. regularum moralium regul.*21. *cap.*3.

Maldonatus *l.*7. *de Sacram. tom.*1. *part.*3. *de Eucharistia, Non quod contendam illud verbum facere illo loco significare idem quod Sacrificare.*

Estius *Comment. in* 2. *ad Cor.* 11. *v.* 24. *Non quod verbum* facere *sit idem quod Sacrificare quomodo nonnulli interpretati sunt præter mentem Scripturæ.*

And howsoever *Bellarmine* where it makes for his purpose, come in with his *certum est*. It is certain that upon the word *Facite*, is grounded the Priesthood and power of Sacrificing, yet in another place when it made not so much for his purpose, he tels us another tale; *Videtur sententia Iohannis a Lovanio valde probabilis qui docet verba domini apud Lucam ad omnia referri, id est, ad id quod fecit Christus & id quod fecerunt Apostoli, ut sensus sit, Id quod nunc agimus, ego dum consecro & porrigo, & vos dum accipitis & comeditis, frequentate deinceps usque ad mundi consummationem.* And within a while after, *Paulum autem idem Author docet, potissimum referre ad actionem discipulorum, id quod ex verbis sequentibus colligitur; Quotiescunque enim manducabitis panem hunc & calicem bibetis, mortem domini annuntiabitis.* Thus farre the words of *Iohannes a Lovanio*, whose opinion *Bellarmine* confesseth to be very

*De Sacram. Eucharist. lib.*4. *cap.* 25. *in fine.*

 probable

probable, that which followeth in the same place I take to be his own; *Et praterea idem planum fieri potest, ex instituto & proposito B. Pauli, nam Apostolus eo loco emendabat errorem Corinthiorum, Corinthii autem non errabant in consecratione sed in Sumptione, quia non debita reverentia sumebant; quare accommodat ea verba ad suum usum, ac docet Christum præcepisse ut actio cœnæ celebraretur in memoriam passionis, & ideo attente & reverenter sumenda esse tanta mysteria.*

By all which it appears, that neither the words of institution *Hoc facite* are sufficient to ground the Priesthood, and power of Sacrificing upon them; nor yet that they are to be restrained to the Clergy as the Doctor would have it; Nay those words of the Apostle, which he brings as a commentary upon the words of institution to clear the point, do indeed prove the contrary.

And if we should grant that which he demands, that *Hoc facite* were to be referred onely to the actions of Christ himself, and directed onely to the Apostles and their Successours, yet it must first be proved that Christ himself in the institution of the Sacrament, did withall offer a Sacrifice *properly* so called; which for any thing that appeares in the text cannot be gathered from any speech which he then uttered, or action which he did, or gesture which he used. That he consecrated the Elements of Bread and Wine to a mysticall use, as also that he left the power of consecration onely to his Apostles and their Successours we willingly grant, but that at his last Supper he either offered Sacrifice himself, or gave them commission so to do, that as yet rests to be proved. Neither do I yet see what

the

the Doctor will make to be the Subject of his Sacrifice, either Bread and Wine, or his own Body and Bloud; if the former, he will (for any thing I know) ſtand ſingle; if the latter, in a proper ſenſe, he will be forced to joyn hands with Rome, and ſo fall into a world of abſurdities; Laſtly, whereas the Doctor diſputes wholly for a *commemorative* Sacrifice, that if our Saviour could not be ſo, in as much as Commemoration implies a calling to remembrance of a thing paſt, but his Sacrifice upon the Croſſe, which we now commemorate, was then to come; *Prefigurative* it might be, *Commemorative* it could not be.

The Doctor goes on, and confidently aſſures us that S. *Paul* in whom we finde both the Prieſt and the Sacrifice, will help us to an Altar alſo, and to that purpoſe referres us to the laſt to the *Hebrews*, *Habemus Altare: We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat that ſerve the Tabernacle.* An Altar (ſaith he) in relation to the Sacrifice, which is there commemorated: But his paſſage of the Apoſtle *Bellarmine* himſelf hath ſo little confidence in, and ſo weak authority to back it, as he forbears to preſſe it; And truely I think had the Doctor himſelf read on, and well conſidered the next verſes, he would never have urged it to that purpoſe which here he doth. *Lib. 1. de Miſſ. cap. 14.*

Aquinas his expoſition in his commentaries upon the place, is in my judgement, both eaſie, and pertinent, *Iſtud Altare vel eſt crux Chriſti in qua Chriſtus immolatus eſt, vel ipſe Chriſtus in quo & per quem preces noſtras offerimus, & hoc eſt Altare aureum de quo, Apoc.* 8. To him doth *Eſtius* the Jeſuite ſtrongly incline, and *Com. in locum.*

 to

De Missa Sacrificio. to him do the Divines of *Collen* in their *Antididagma* firmly *adhere*; which notwithstanding some there are I confesse, who understand the words of the Apostle to be meant of the Lords Table, which I grant may be called an Altar; but whether in a proper sense it be so called by the Apostle in the passage alleaged, that is the question, and [h] I have not yet met with any, who in full and round terms hath so expressed himself; And till that be sufficiently proved, the Apostles Altar cannot certainly prove a Priesthood, and Sacrifice *properly* so called.

h

Chap. IV.

Whether the Authority of the Fathers alleaged by the Doctor, prove the Eucharist, a Sacrifice properly *so called.*

THe Doctor from the Scriptures (where in my poor judgement he hath found very little help for the maintenance of his cause) comes in the next place to the authority of the Fathers, some of which are Counterfeits, and the greatest part by him vouched (as by him they are alleaged) speak onely of Sacrifices, Priests, and Altars, but in what sense it appears not, whereas the question is not of the name, but of the nature of these. Now among those Fathers whom he names, two there are and but two, who speak home to the nature thereof *Irenæus* and *Eusebius*, yet both of them speak even by the Doctors pen in such sort, as a man may thereby discern they intended not a Sacrifice properly so called. I will take them in their order.

Lib 4. cap. 34. "First then for *Irenæus*, look on him (saith the "Doctor, and he will tell you, that there were Sa-"crifices in the Jewish Church, and Sacrifices in the Christian.

"Christian Church, and that the kinde or species "was onely altered, The kinde or nature of which "Christian Sacrifice, he tels us of in the same Chap-"ter, *viz.* that it is an Eucharist, a tender of our "gratitude to Almighty God for all his blessings, "and a sanctifying of the Creature to spirituall uses. "*Offerimus ei non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes dona-"tione eius, & Sanctificantes Creaturam.* In this we have "the severall and distinct offices, which before we "spake of, *Sanctificatio Creaturæ*, a blessing of the "Bread (for Bread it is he speaks of) for holy uses, "which is the office of the Priest, no man ever "doubted it; and then a *Gratiarum actio*, a giving of "thanks unto the Lord for his marvellous benefits, "which is the office both of Priest and people; the "sanctifying of the Creature, and glorifying of the "Creator, do both relate unto *Offerimus*, and that "unto the Sacrifices which are therein treated of "by that holy Father. Hitherto the Doctor in his allegation of *Irenæus*; But is any man so weak as from hence to inferre a Sacrifice *properly* so called? The sanctifying, or blessing, or consecrating of the Bread to holy uses, we all grant to be the proper office of the Priest or Presbyter, and the giving of thanks common to him and the people, but that either of these is a Sacrifice *properly* so called, that we deny and *desire* to see *proved*. I

The other of the two before named is *Eusebius* upon whose testimony the Doctor largely insists, "for that we cannot take (saith he) a better and "more perfect view thereof then from him, who "hath been more exact herein then any other of the ancients. And having culled out from *Eusebius* what he

De demonst. Evangel. lib. 1.

he conceived most advantageous for his own purpose in conclusion, he thus epitomizeth him. "So "that we see (saith he) that in this Sacrifice prescribed the Christian Church, by our Lord and "Saviour, there were two proper and distinct actions, the first is to celebrate the memoriall of our "Saviours Sacrifice, which he intituleth the commemoration of his Body and Bloud once offred, "or the memory of that his Sacrifice, that is (as he "doth clearly expound himself) that we should offer μνημην ἀντι τῆς θυσίας. This our Commemoration "for a Sacrifice; The second, that we should offer "to him the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, "which is the reasonable Sacrifice of a Christian "man, and to him most acceptable; finally he "joynes both together in the conclusion of that "Book, and therein doth at full describe the nature "of this Sacrifice, which is this as followeth. "Therefore (saith he) we Sacrifice and offer, as it "were with incense, the memory of that great Sacrifice, celebrating the same according to the "mysteries by him given unto us, and giving thanks "to him for our salvation, with godly Hymnes and "Prayers to the Lord our God, as also offering "our whole selves both soul and body, and to his "High Priest which is the Word. See here (saith "the Doctor) *Eusebius* doth not call it onely the "memory or Commemoration of Christs Sacrifice, "but makes the very memory and Commemoration "in and of it self to be a Sacrifice, which *instar* "*omnium*, for and in the place of all other Sacrifices we are to offer to our God, and offer with the "incense of our Prayers and praises.

In

In this discourse out of *Eusebius* the Doctor foreseeing that what he had alleaged, did not reach home to his purpose, endeavours to make it up by the addition of this last clause, as if *Eusebius* made the memory or commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ to be in and of it self a Sacrifice; and this he would collect from these words of his ἀντὶ τῆς θυσίας, which he translates *for*, and *as* a Sacrifice, whereas both Bishop *Bilson*, and Doctor *Raynolds*, and others of our best learned Divines translate it *insteed* of a Sacrifice. Now that which is insteed of a Sacrifice, cannot be indeed, and of it self *properly* so called. And besides, how we should be said to offer up our Commemoration for a Sacrifice, as the Doctor affirmeth, I cannot understand, since Commemoration is an action, and being so, it cannot (as I conceive) in propriety of speech be the thing Sacrificed, which must of necessity be a substance as it stands in opposition to accidents; so that if neither the sanctification of the Creature, nor the Commemoration of the Sacrifice of Christ, nor the offering up of our selves, or praise, and thanksgiving can amount to a Sacrifice properly so called, surely the Doctor hath not yet found it in the Fathers, but will be forced to make a new search for the finding of it.

Chap. V.

Whether the Eucharist be a Sacrifice properly so called, by the Doctrine and practise of the Church of England, and first by the Book of Ordination.

THis the Doctor undertakes to prove from the Book of Ordination, from the Book of Articles,

 from

from the Book of Homilies, and lastly from the Common-prayer Book.

His proof from the Book of Ordination, is that he who is admitted to holy orders, is there cal'd a *Priest*, as also in the Liturgy, and Rubricks of it. For answer whereunto, we grant that he is so called indeed, but had it been intended that he were *properly* so called, no doubt but in the same Book we should have found a power of Sacrificing conferred upon him; And in very truth a stronger argument there cannot be, that our Church admits not of any Sacrifice or Priesthood *properly* so called, for that we finde not in that Book any power of sacrificing conferred upon him, who receives the order of Priesthood, no nor so much as the name of any Sacrifice in any sense therein once mentioned. Read throw the admonition, the interrogations, the prayers, the benediction, but above all the form it self in the collation of that sacred order, and not a word is there to be seen of Sacrificing, or Offring, or Altar, or any such matter; The form it self of Ordination runnes thus [*Receive the holy Ghost, whose sinnes thou doest forgive they are forgiven, and whose sinnes thou doest retain, they are retained, and be thou a faithfull dispencer of the Word of God and his holy Sacraments, In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.*] Then the Bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in his hand saying. [*Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to Minister the holy Sacraments in the Congregation where thou shalt be appointed.*] Here we have a power given him of forgiving and retaining of sinnes, of preaching of the Word and administring the holy Sacraments, but of any

Sacrificing

Sacrificing power, not so much as the least syllable: which had been a very strange and unpardonable neglect, had the Church intended, by the form expressed in that Book, to make them Priests, *properly* so called.

This indeed the Romanists quarrell at, as being a main defect in our Church; but the learned Champion of it, and our holy orders, hath in my judgement fully answered that crimination of theirs, and withall clearly opened the point, in what sense we are in that Book of Ordination called Priests: "If "you mean (saith he) no more by Priest, then the "holy Ghost doth by Presbyter, that is a Minister "of the New Testament, then we professe, and are "ready to prove that we are Priests, as we are called in the Book of Common-prayer, and the form "of ordering, because we receive in our ordination "authority to preach the Word of God, and to "Minister his holy Sacraments. Secondly, if by "Priests you mean Sacrificing Priests, and would "expound your selves of spirituall Sacrifices, then "as this name belongeth to all Christians, so it may "be applyed by an excellency to the Ministers of "the Gospel. Thirdly, although in this name you "have relation to bodily Sacrifices, yet even so "we be called Priests by way of allusion. For as "Deacons are not of the Tribe of *Levi*, yet the ancient Fathers do commonly call them Levites alluding to their office, because they come in place "of Levites, so the Ministers of the New Testament may be called Sacrificers, because they succeed the sonnes of *Aaron*, and come in place of "Sacrificers. Fourthly, for as much as we have

Fr. Mason of the consecration of Bishops in the Church of England.

"authority to Minister, the Sacraments and conse-
"quently the Eucharist, which is a representation
"of the Sacrifice of Christ, therefore we may be
"said to offer Christ in a Mystery, and to Sacrifice
"him objectively, by way of Commemoration.]
In all these respects we may rightly and truely be called Priests, as also because to us it belongeth, and to us alone to consecrate the Bread and Wine to holy uses, to offer up the prayers of the people, and to blesse them, yet in all these respects, the speech is but figurative, and consequently our Priesthood and Sacrifices cannot be proper.

Now for the Liturgy, it is true that the Minister is there likewise sometimes called a Priest, and as true it is that sometimes also he hath the name of a Minister there given him; but the Lords Table though it be there often named, is never called an Altar, nor the Sacrament in which he represents, and commemorates the death of Christ, is in that respect, so much as once called a Sacrifice, muchlesse *properly* so termed, as will appear when we come to examine the Doctors arguments for a Sacrifice drawn from that Book. In the mean time I must
Ch. 5. § 6. professe I cannot but wonder that the Doctor should derive our Priesthood from *Melchisedech*; I had thought the Priesthood which we have, had been derived from the high Priest of the New Testament, who indeed is called a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*, not because he derived it from *Melchisedech* (God forbid we should so conceive) but because of the resemblances which he had to, and with *Melchisedech*, as that he was not onely a Priest
Heb 7. but a King, a King first of righteousnesse, then of peace,

peace, without Father, without Mother, having neither beginning of dayes, nor end of life. Thus was our Saviour a Priest after the order of *Melchisedech*, as his own Apostle interprets it; so as if we will challenge to our selves a Priesthood after his order, we must likewise be Kings as he was, without Father, without Mother, without beginning of daies, or end of life, as he was, which will prove I doubt too hard a task for any man to make good. The Romanists indeed assume to themselves a Priesthood after the order of *Melchisedech* (though from *Melchisedech*, I do not finde that they derive it) but that any of the reformed Churches; besides our Doctor hath done either of these, I do not yet finde, nor I dare say the Doctor himself will ever be able to finde it. Heb. 7.

I will conclude this point touching the Priesthood of our Church, with the observable words of profound *Hooker*, who was well known to be no enemy thereunto. "Because (saith he) the most eminent part both of Heathenish, and Jewish service did consist in Sacrifice, when learned men declare what the word Priest doth properly signifie according to the minde of the first imposer of the name, their ordinary Scholies do well expound it to imply Sacrifice; seeing then that Sacrifice is now no part of the Church Ministry, how should the name of Priesthood be thereunto rightly applyed? Surely even as S. *Paul* applyeth the name of flesh, unto that very substance of fishes, which hath a proportionable correspondence to flesh, although it be in nature another thing, whereupon when Philosophers will speak warily they make a difference betwixt flesh in one sort of living creatures *Lib 5 cap. 78.*

"tures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt, which "hath but a kinde of Analogy to fleſh. The Apo- "ſtle contrariwiſe having matter of greater impor- "tance whereof to ſpeak, nameth them indifferent- "ly both fleſh. The Fathers of the Church with like "ſecurity of ſpeech, call uſually the Miniſtery of "the Goſpel, Prieſthood in regard of that which "the Goſpel hath proportionable to ancient Sacri- "fices, namely the Communion of the bleſſed "Body and Bloud of Chriſt, *although it have proper- "ly now no Sacrifice*. As for the People, when they "hear the name, it draweth no more their mindes "to any cogitation of Sacrifice, then the name of a "Senator, or of an Alderman cauſeth them to think "upon old age, or to imagine that every one ſo "termed, muſt needs be ancient becauſe yeers were "reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Where- "fore to paſſe by the name, let them uſe what dia- "lect they will, whether we call it a Prieſthood, or "a Presbyterſhip, or a Miniſtery; it skilleth not, "although in truth the word Presbyter doth ſeeme "more fit, and in propriety of ſpeech more agree- "able then Prieſt, with the drift of the whole "Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, for what are they that "imbrace the Goſpel, but Sonnes of God? What "are Churches, but his families? Seeing then we "receive the adoption and ſtate of Sonnes by their "Miniſtery, whom God hath choſen out for that "purpoſe, ſeeing alſo that when we are the Sonnes "of God, our continuance is ſtill under their care "which were our Progenitors, what better title "could there be given them, then the reverend "name of Presbyters, or fatherly guides? The holy

Ghoſt

"Ghost throughout the Body of the New Testa-
"ment, making so much mention of them, doth
"not any where call them Priests. The Prophet
"*Isaiah* I grant doth, but in such sort as the ancient
"Fathers *by way of Analogy*. A Presbyter according
"to the proper meaning of the New Testament, is
"he unto whom our Saviour hath committed the
"power of spirituall procreation. By which learned discourse of this venerable man, and as the Doctor himself somewhere calls him incomparable now a blessed Saint in Heaven, it evidently appears that he held both a Sacrifice, and a Priesthood in the Church, but neither of them in a *proper* signification, and consequently in his opinion the Doctor hath gained little to his purpose from the Book of ordination, and surely as little I presume will he gain from that which follows, and comes now to be examined.

CHAP. VI.

Whether the Book of Articles, the Book of Homilies, or the Common-prayer Book afford the Doctor such proofes as he pretends.

TWo wayes there are (saith he) by which the Church declares her self in the present businesse; first positively in the Book of Articles, and that of Homilies, and practically in the Book of Common prayers. "First, in the Book of Articles
"the offering of Christ once made is that perfect
"redemption, propitiation and satisfaction, for all
"the sinnes of the whole world both originall and
"actuall, and there is no other satisfaction for sin
"but that alone. This Sacrifice or oblation once
"for ever made, and never more to be repeated,

was

"was by our Saviours own appointment to be com-
"memorated and represented to us for the better
"quickening of our Faith, whereof if there be no-
"thing said in the Book of Articles, it is because
"the Articles related chiefly to points in contro-
"versie, but in the Book of Homilies, &c. Thus the Doctor.

Why, but he had told us before, that the Church declares her self positively in the Book of Articles, touching this present businesse, and now when we expected the declaration to be made good, he puts us over to the Book of Homilies, and yet had he gone on in that very Article by him alleaged, he should there have found somewhat against Popish Sacrifices, which that Article calls (or rather our Church by that Article) *blasphemous Fables*, and *dangerous deceits*. Nay the very first words vouched by the Doctor out of the Article, are in my judgement sufficient to cut the throat of any other Sacrifice of Christ, or any Christian Sacrifice *properly* so called. For if the offring of Christ once made be perfect, it cannot be again reiterated, commemorated it may be, and must be reiterated, it cannot be; now reiteration, it is which makes it a Sacrifice *properly* so called, not a bare commemoration or representation, as hath already been shewed. And besides the Doctor might have found another Article touching the Supper of the Lord, where it is called a Sacrament of our redemption by Christs death, but of any Sacrifice not a word, though there had been the proper place to have spoken of it, had our Church conceived that any such had been *properly* so termed; but on the other side, Transubstantiation is there condemned

Art. 28.

condemned as being repugnant to Scriptures, overthrowing the nature of a Sacrament, giving occasion to many superstitions; yet how a Sacrifice of the body and bloud of Christ *properly* so termed, can be admitted without the admission of Transubstantiation together with it, I must confesse for mine own part I am yet to seek, and shall be willing to learn from any that can farther instruct me.

But the Doctor reposing little confidence, it should seem in the Articles, refers us to the Homilies; to them let us go, and truely, if I be not much mistaken, he will finde as little help from these, as from the Articles: That which he alleageth, is taken from the first words of the Homily Sacrament, the words are as followeth: "The great love of our Part. 1
"Saviour Christ to mankinde doth not onely ap-
"pear in that dear bought benefit of our redempti-
"on, and satisfaction by his death and passion, but
"also, that he hath kindly provided that the same
"most mercifull work, might be had in continuall
"remembrance, amongst the which means is the
"publike celebration of the memory of his pretious
"death at the Lords Table; our Saviour having or-
"dained and established the remembrance of his
"great mercy expressed in his passion in the institu-
"tion of his heavenly Supper. Here (saith the Do-
"ctor) is a commemoration of that blessed Sacrifice
"which Christ once offred, a publike celebration
"of the memory thereof, and a continuall remem-
"brance of it by himself ordained. Yea, but that which the Doctor from these words (picked here and there in the Homily) should have inferred, and concluded is a Sacrifice in it self *properly* so called,

 not

not a memory, a remembrance, a commemoration of a Sacrifice. And besides, he who attentively reads that part of the Homily, will easily finde that it there speaks of the commemoration thereof, not so much by the Priest, as by the People; neither doth it so much as once name any Sacrifice at all, save onely in disavowing, and disallowing it, as may be seen in the Page there following, part whereof the Doctor taketh for his own purpose, as namely, "That the Lords Supper is in such sort to be "done and Ministred, as our Lord and Saviour did, "and commanded it to be done, as his holy Apo-"stles used it, and the good Fathers in the primitive "Church frequented it. So that (saith he) what e-"ver hath been proved to be the purpose of insti-"tution, the practise of the holy Apostles, and "usage of the ancient Fathers, will fall within the "meaning, and intention of the Church of *England*. Doubtlesse it will, but that a Sacrifice *properly* so called, hath been proved to be either the purpose of the institution, or the practise of the Apostles, or the usage of the ancient Fathers, that I utterly deny. And surely it should seem that the Church of *England* denies it too, by the words there following within a few lines; "We must take heed (saith the "Homily) least of the memory it be made a *Sacri-"fice*, least of a Communion it be made a private "eating, least of two parts, we have but one, least "applying it to the dead, we loose the fruit that be "alive; Let us rather in these matters follow the "advice of *Cyprian* in like cases, that is, cleave fast "to the first beginning, hold fast the Lords tradition, "do that in the Lords Commemoration, which he himself

Pag. 198.

"himſelf did, he himſelf commanded, and his Apo-
"ſtles confirmed. Whereby it ſhould ſeem they held the purpoſe of our Saviours inſtitution, and the practiſe of his Apoſtles to have been, not a Sacrifice *properly* ſo termed, but onely a Commemoration of his death and paſſion. And this to have been indeed their meaning farther appears toward the latter end of the ſame part of the Homily, where ſpeaking of the death of Chriſt, and the efficacy thereof to the worthy Receiver, they thus go on.
"Herein thou needſt no other mans help, *no other*
"*Sacrifice, or oblation, no Sacrificing Prieſt*, no Maſſe, no
"means eſtabliſhed by mans invention. By which it is evident, that they held all other Sacrifices, beſide that of Chriſt himſelf on the Croſſe, and all other Sacrificing Prieſts, beſide Chriſt himſelf to be eſtabliſhed by mans invention, and how the Doctor profeſſing that he offers up a Sacrifice *properly* ſo called, can poſſibly free himſelf from the title and office of a *Sacrificing Prieſt*, I muſt profeſſe is beyond the compaſſe of my brain. All which conſidered, I think his ſafer way had been not to have touched upon the Homily, ſpecially conſidering that the Lords Table is there named above or about twenty times, but is not ſo much as once called an Altar. But perchance he will finde ſome better help from the Liturgy, which comes now to be examined.

"We will next (ſaith he) look into the *agenda*,
"the publike Liturgy of this Church. where firſt
"we finde it granted, that Chriſt our Saviour is the
"very Paſchall Lamb that was offred for us, and
"hath taken away the ſinnes of the world, that

 ſuffering

"suffering death upon the crosse for our redempti-
"on, he made there of his own oblation of himself
"once offred, a full, perfect and sufficient Sacrifice,
"oblation and satisfaction, for the sinnes of the
"whole world; and to the end that we should al-
"wayes remember the exceeding great love of our
"Master, and onely Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dy-
"ing for us, and the innumerable benefits which
"by his pretious bloudshedding he hath obtained
"to us, he hath instituted and ordained holy My-
"steries as pledges of his love, and continuall re-
"membrance of his death, to our great and end-
"lesse comfort instituting, and in his holy Gospel
"commanding us to continue a perpetuall memory
"of that his pretious death, till his coming again.

In which words I do not see, what it is that makes for the Doctors purpose, but somewhat I see which makes against him; as namely, The Sacrifice of Christ upon the Crosse is full, perfect and sufficient in it self, which being so, surely there needs no more Sacrifices, no more Priests, no more Altars, *properly* so called; And for the *memory* or remembrance there mentioned (if I be not much mistaken) he will never be able thence to inferre such a Sacrifice; and surely I think the Church never intended he should.

In the next place he instanceth in the consecration. "Then followeth (saith he) the consecration
"of the Creatures of Bread and Wine, for a re-
"membrance of his death and Passion, in the same
"words and phrases which Christ our Saviour re-
"commended unto his Apostles, and his Apostles,
"unto the Fathers of the Primitive times, which

now

"now as then is to be done onely by the Priest, "[Then the Priest standing up, shall say as follow-"eth] to whom it properly belongeth, and upon "whom his ordination doth conferre a power of "ministring the Sacrament, not given to any other "order in the holy Ministry. Had the Book said, Then shall the Priest stand up, and offer Sacrifice, it had been to the Doctors purpose; but then shall the Priest stand up and *say*, makes little for him, unlesse he had been injoyned to say somewhat, which had implyed a Sacrifice which I do not yet finde; words indeed of consecration I finde, and those proper to the Priest, but any words of Sacrificing in that act, I finde not, yet had our Church conceived, that to have been a Sacrifice there, indeed had been the proper place to have expressed her self. That the ordination appointed by our Church, conferreth upon the person, so ordained, a power of ministring the Sacrament not given to any order in the Ministry, I shall easily grant; but that his ordination giveth him, not any power of Sacrificing (which is the point in question) hath already out of the form it self established by authority been clearly shewed.

From the words of consecration, the Doctor goes on to the prayer, after the Communion, and here indeed he findes a Sacrifice, but such a one as (all things considered, he hath very little reason to triumph therein. "The memory or Commemoration "of Christs death (saith he) thus celebrated, is cal-"led a Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, a Sa-"crifice representative of that one and onely expia-"tory Sacrifice, which Christ once offred for us,

 all

" all the whole Communicants, beſeeching God to
" grant that by the merits and death of his Sonne
" Jeſus Chriſt, and through faith in his bloud, they
" and the whole Church may obtain remiſſion of
" their ſinnes, and all other benefits of his Paſſion;
" Neither ſtay they there (ſaith he) but forthwith
" offer, and preſent unto the Lord themſelves, their
" ſoules and bodies to be a reaſonable, holy, and
" lively Sacrifice unto him. And howſoever as they
" moſt humbly do acknowledge, they are unworthy
" through their manifold ſinnes, to offer to him any
" Sacrifice, yet they beſeech him to accept, that
" their bounden duety and ſervice; In which laſt
" words, that preſent ſervice which they do to Al-
" mighty God, according to their bounden duties,
" in celebrating the perpetuall memory of Chriſts
" pretious death, and the oblation of themſelves,
" and with themſelves the Sacrifice of praiſe, and
" thankſgiving in due acknowledgement of the be-
" nefits, and comforts by him received, is humbly
" offred unto God for, and as a Sacrifice, and pub-
" likely avowed for ſuch, as from the tenour and
" coherence of the words, doth appear moſt plainly.
Hitherto the Doctor, as if now he had ſpoken home and full to the point indeed; whereas if we take a review of that which hath been ſaid, we ſhall ſoon finde it to vaniſh into ſmoak.

That prayer then after the Communion, beginning in this manner. " O Lord and heavenly Father
" we thy humble ſervants, entirely deſire, thy fa-
" therly goodneſſe, mercifully to accept this our
" Sacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving. I would demand of the Doctor, firſt of what kind this Sacrifice

of

of thanksgiving is, and then by whom it is offred; for mine own part I never heard that the Eucharisticall Sacrifice of Christians, was other then spirituall, improperly termed a Sacrifice; and I presume the Doctor himself will not stick to grant as much as he doth, that the people joyn with the Priest in this prayer. From whence it will infallibly follow, That either the people together with the Priest offer unto God a Sacrifice *properly* so called, or that the Sacrifice thus offred by them, both is so called improperly; let him take which he please of the two, and then tell me what he can make of this Sacrifice. Now that which hath been said of this Eucharisticall Sacrifice, of praise and thanksgiving, is likewise to be understood of the obedientiall Sacrifice (if I may so call it) which follows after, consisting in their offring to the Lord, their selves, their souls and bodies, as a reasonable holy and lively Sacrifice unto him: And in truth I cannot but wonder, that the Doctor should insist upon this, considering he requires a materiall Altar for his Sacrifice, derives his Priesthood from *Melchisedech*, appropriates it to the Apostles and their Successors, makes it stand in commemoration or representation, and lastly, every where with scorn enough, excludes the people from any right thereunto, but thus we see how a weak cause is driven by all kinde of means, be they never so poor to fortifie it self: And yet, as if now he had made a full, and finall conquest, he concludes this argument drawn from the authority of our Church; " Put all together " (saith he) which hath been here delivered from " the Book of Articles, the Homilies, and publike

Liturgy,

" Liturgy, and tell me if you ever found a more ex-
" cellent concord then this, between *Eusebius*, and
" the Church of *England*, in this present businesse;
And then goes on to parallell the words of *Eusebius* with those of our Liturgy, which I confesse agree very well, but neither the one, nor the other speak home to his purpose, or mention any Sacrifice *properly* so called, to be offred in the Church of Christ, as he hath been sufficiently shewed.

Chap. VII.

Of the Testimony of some Writers of our Church alleaged by the Doctor.

" Will you be pleased (saith he) to look upon
" those worthies of the Church, which are
" best able to expound, and unfold her meaning;
" We will begin (saith he) with Bishop *Andrews*, and
" tell you what he saith, as concerning Sacrifices.

Answ. to Preface c. 6.

" The Eucharist (saith Bishop *Andrews*) ever was
" and is by us considered, both as a Sacrament, and
" as a Sacrifice. A Sacrifice is proper and apply-
" able, onely to Divine worship. The Sacrifice of
" Christs death, did succeed to the Sacrifices of the
" Old Testament, which being prefigured in those
" Sacrifices before his coming, hath since his com-
" ing been celebrated *per Sacramentum memoria*, by a
" Sacrament of memory, as Saint *Augustine* calls it;

Resp. ad Card. Bell. cap. 8.

" Thus also in his answer to Cardinall *Bellarmine*.
" *Tollite de missa transubstantiationem vestram, nec diu*
" *nobiscum lis erit de Sacrificio*. The memory of a Sa-
" crifice, we acknowledge willingly, and the King
" grants the name of Sacrifice to have been fre-
" quent with the Fathers; for Altars next, if we

agree

"agree (ſaith he) about the matter of the Sacrifice, "there will be no difference about the Altar. The "holy Eucharist being conſidered as a Sacrifice (in "the repreſentation of breaking the Bread, and "powring forth the Cup) the ſame is fitly cal-"led an Altar, which again is as fitly called a Ta-"ble, the Eucharist being conſidered as a Sacra-"ment, which is nothing elſe but a diſtribution and "application of the Sacrifice to the ſeverall recei-"vers, ſo that the matter of Altars make no diffe-"rence in the face of our Church. Thus farre the Doctor out of Biſhop *Andrews*. Anſw. to *Perron*. cap. 7.

For anſwer whereunto, if we take the paſſage at large, as it is quoted by that truely reverend Biſhop out of S. *Auguſtine*, it will ſuffice to ſhew both his, and the Biſhops judgement herein. The words then are theſe. *Hujus Sacrificii caro & ſanguis ante adventum Chriſti per victimas ſimilitudinum promittebatur, in paſſione Chriſti per ipſam veritatem reddebatur, poſt adventum Chriſti per Sacramentum memoriæ celebratur.* Now had he conceived the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice *properly* ſo called, in all likelyhood, he would have termed it *Sacrificium memoriæ* in relation to the Sacrifices as well before the death of Chriſt, as the Sacrifice it ſelf of his death, *Sacramentum memoriæ* then is that ſaith the Biſhop, which with S. *Auguſtine* we hold, and no Chriſtian I think will deny, nay more then ſo, we may ſafely with the Biſhop grant, that it is not onely a Sacrament but a Sacrifice, but whether in a *proper* ſignification that is the queſtion, and this the Doctor doth not clear out of the Biſhop, but rather the Biſhop, the contrary out of S. *Auguſtine*. *L De civitate Dei lib.* 17. *cap.* 20.

The next paſſage quoted by the Doctor out of this

learned Bishop, is taken from his answer to *Bellarmine*, which he lived to publish himself, and thus begins it, *Credunt nostri institutam à domino Eucharistiam in sui commemorationem, etiam Sacrificii sui, vel (si ita loqui liceat) in Sacrificium commemorativum*. See the modesty of this deep Divine, making doubt whether he might give it the name of *Sacrificium commemorativum* or no, which doubtlesse he would never have done, had he thought it had been a Sacrifice *properly* so called; Neither would he so often in that Page have taken up *Vocem Sacrificii*, rather then *Sacrificium*, *Nihil ea de Voce Rex: Sacrificii Vocem scit patribus usurpatam: nec à Voce vel Sacrificii vel oblationis abhorremus; placeret loca videre quæ citat nisi Vocem propter quam citat videret Lector nobis non displicere.* Surely so weary, and so wise a man would never have repeated *Vocem* so often, had he beleeved the thing. To the words by the Doctor stood upon, *Tollite de missa transubstantiationem nec diu nobiscum lis erit de Sacrificio*; it may be replyed in the Bishops own words immediately following, which may well serve as a commentary upon these going before: *Memoriam ibi fieri Sacrificii damus non inviti*, so as his meaning seems to be *lis non erit de Sacrificio*, conditionally that by *Sacrificium* they understand *memoriam Sacrificii*, as we do, neither in truth do I see how the crutch of Transubstantiation being taken away, a Sacrifice *properly* so called, can well stand upon its own feete.

From the Bishops answer to the Italian Cardinall, the Doctor leads us back again to his answer to the French Cardinall, and there hath found an Altar suteable to his Sacrifice; If we agree about the matter of the Sacrifice, saith the Bishop, there will be

be no difference about the Altar,] but about the former, sure I am, we agree not as yet, nor I doubt ever shall agree(they making that the Subject which we make onely the object of this Sacrifice) and consequently the difference is like still to remain about the Altar. That the Lords Table may fitly be called an Altar, the Bishop indeed affirmeth, but that it may *properly* be so called, that he affirmeth not, nor as farre as we may conjecture by his words ever intended it: *Fitly*, I grant it may be so called, and yet figuratively too. That Christ was fitly called a Lamb, we all willingly yeild, yet withall that he was not properly but figuratively so called, no man I presume will deny. The Altar (saith the Bishop in the same Chapter) in the Old Testament, is by *Malachy* called *Mensa domini*; and of the Table in the New it is said *Habemus Altare*, as then the Altar is by the Prophet improperly called a Table in the Old, so likewise is the Lords Table, by the Apostle improperly called an Altar in the New Testament. Neither indeed can the Bishop (as I conceive be otherwise understood, the Sacrifice which he allows, consisting (by his own description thereof, in the same place) in representation by the breaking of the Bread and powring forth of the Cup) which may objectively, that is improperly be called a Sacrifice in relation to the al-sufficient Sacrifice of Christ upon the Crosse, but subjectively, that is *properly*, it cannot be so called. M

"As Bishop *Andrews* wrote at King *Iames* his motion, against Cardinall *Bellarmine* (saith the Doctor) "so *Isaac Casaubon*, writ King *Iames* his minde to "Cardinall *Perron*, and in expressing his minde

 affirmeth,

Epist. ad Card. Perron.

"affirmeth, *Veteres Ecclesiæ patres &c.* That the an-
"cient Fathers did acknowledge one onely Sacri-
"fice in the Christian Church, which did succeed
"in place of all those Sacrifices in the law of *Moses*,
"that he conceived the said Sacrifice to be nothing
"else, *Nisi commemorationem ejus quod semel in cruce*
"*Christus Patri suo obtulit*; That oftentimes the
"Church of *England* hath professed, she will not
"strive about the Word, which she expressely useth
"in her publike Liturgy.] Yea but if *Casaubon*, or
the King by *Casaubons* pen expressed himself, that he
conceived the Christian Sacrifice, now in use to be
nothing else but the commemoration of Christs Sa-
crifice offred to his Father upon the Crosse, surely
they could not withall conceive it to be a Sacrifice
properly so called, and in saying that the Church of
England will not strive about the Word, what is it
but as if they had said, she will strive about the
thing, as it is most aparent that she doth, as well in
her doctrine as practise. Nay one thing more, That
learned Writer hath, or rather that learned King,
by the hand of that Writer, which the Doctor
hath omitted, though he take the words both be-
fore and after, perchance because they made lit-le
to his purpose. *Quare beatus Chrysostomus, quo frequen-
tius nemo hujus Sacrificii meminit, in nonum caput epistolæ
ad Hebræos, postquam* θυσίαν *nominasset, continuo subjungit,
sive explicationis, sive correctionis loco* μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν
θυσίας which words, whether they be taken by way
of explication or corrections evidently shew, that
S. *Chrysostome* held not the Eucharist to be a Sacri-
fice *properly* so called, and that herein both the
King, and *Casaubon* adhered to S. *Chrysostome* the best
inter-

interpreter of Scripture among the Greek Fathers.

"The next testimony is taken from Archbishop "*Cranmer*, who (saith the Doctor) distinguisheth "most clearly, between the Sacrifice propitiatory "made by Christ himself onely, and the Sacrifice "commemorative, and gratulatory, made by the "Priest and people.] This I easily beleeve, though the Book it self, I have not now by me, but that the Archbishop any where affirmeth either the commemorative or the gratulatory Sacrifice to be *properly* so called, that I very much doubt, and surely if it be made both by the Priest and people, as the Doctor voucheth him, at leastwise for the latter there can be no question of his opinion therein.

Defence of his fifth Book against *Gardiner*.

Let us go on then to my Lord of *Duresme*, "Who "(saith the Doctor) doth call the Eucharist a repre-"sentative and commemorative Sacrifice, in as "plain Language, as the Doctor himself, although "he doth deny it to be a proper Sacrifice.] Deny it? why he doth not onely deny it, but strongly proves it against *Bellarmine* and other Romish Writers, in two entire Chapters taking up no lesse then seven leaves in Folio, so strongly, as I verily beleeve, I shall never see a full, and sufficient answer thereunto.

The last testimony produced by the Doctor, is from my Lord of *Chichesters* appeal, whom the Doctor thus makes to speak unto his informers; I have so good opinion of your understanding, though weak, that you will conceive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or the Communion Table (which you please) to be a Sacrifice.] And the Doctor having a while insisted upon these words, in answer to his

Cap. 29.

adversary, goes on out of the Bishops Book. Walk you at random, and at rovers in your bypaths if you please, I have used the name of Altar for the Communion Table, according to the manner of antiquity, and am like enough sometimes to use it stil; nor will I abstain notwithstanding your oggannition to follow the steps and practice of antiquity, in using the words Sacrifice and Priesthood also. Finally (saith the Doctor) he brings in Bishop *Morton*, professing thus, That he beleeveth no such Sacrifice of the Altar as the Church of *Rome* doth, and that he fancieth no such Altars as they imploy, though he professed a Sacrifice and an Altar.) Now for an swer to this testimony, he that will be pleased but to peruse that chapter, will I presume, desire no farther satisfaction, the Bishop having therein so clearly and fully unfolded himself, as if the Doctor will stand to his judgement in the point, he will undoubtedly be cast.

To the first allegation then, where the Doctor makes a stop, the Bishop thus goes on. Not propitiatory, as they call it (I will use this word. call it, lest you challenge me upon Popery for using propitiatory) for the living and the dead, not an *externall, visible, true*, and *proper* Sacrifice, but onely representative, commemorative, spirituall Sacrifice; where the Bishop as we see in downright and direct tearms denies the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice *properly* so called, and for this immediatly he voucheth the testimony of Doctor *Rainolds*, and Bishop *Morton*, Doctor *Rainolds* (saith he) and Bishop *Morton* have granted, that though we have no *proper Altar*, yet Altar and Sacrifice have a mutuall relation and depend-

ance

ance one upon another. And herein doth the Bishop professe himself fully to accord with them.

To the second allegation; The Bishop between the words vouched by the Doctor, brings in these; Saint *Paul* calleth the Pagan Altars (which were indeed and truely Altars) Tables, and why may not we name the Lords Table an Altar? whereby it appears, that he held the Lords Table an Altar in none other sense than as the Pagan Altars were Tables, that is both *improperly*.

To the third allegation touching Bishop *Morton*, he thus brings him in not farre from the beginning of that chapter: But I rather choose (saith he) to speak in our Bishop *Mortons* words, apologizing for Protestants against Papists; It may be I have taken licence in use of tearms, but no errour in Doctrine can you finde, for to put off your imputation, from farther fastning, I beleeve no such sacrifice of the Altar, as the Church of *Rome* doth, I fancy no such Altars as they imploy, though I professe a Sacrifice and an Altar.] In the same Reverend Bishops words, the Lords Table being called *improperly* an Altar, can no more conclude a Sacrifice understood *properly*, than when as Saint *Paul* calling *Titus* his sonne according to the faith, which is *improperly*, a man may contend Saint *Paul* was his naturall father, according to the flesh.] In which words we have both the Bishops, and those excellently learned in *terminis terminantibus*, directly opposite to the Doctors opinion, though by him alleadged in maintenance thereof.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Containing the Testimonies of other Reverend Prelates, and great Divines of our Church, who have likewise opposed the proper *Sacrifice maintained by the Doctor.*

WIth forraigne Divines of the Reformed Churches I will not meddle, there being not so much as one of them, I thinke, of what partie soever, who in this point sides with the Doctor, I will content my selfe with the suffrages of our owne Divines, for learning and dignity the most eminent in our Church, and consequently the fittest interpreters of her meaning.

Doctor White *Lord Bishop of Ely, in his reply to* Fisher, *pag.* 465.

The New Testament acknowledgeth no *proper* sacrificing Priests but Christ Jesus only, *Heb.* 7.23.27, 28. *&* *cap.* 10. 21. Neither is there any word or sentence in our Saviours doctrine concerning any *reall* Sacrifice, but onely of himself upon the Crosse, neither was any Altar used and ordained by Christ and his Apostles; And if in all reall Sacrifices the matter of the Oblation must be *really destroyed* and changed, and no physicall destruction or change is made in the Body of Christ, or in the elements of bread and wine by Transubstantiation, then Romanists have devised a reall Sacrifice in the new Testament, which hath no Divine Institution.

Doctor Davenant, *Lord Bishop of Sarisbury, Professor of Divinity in the Vniversity of Cambridge, in his determinations, qu.* 13.

Missa Pontificia non est Sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis & mortuis.

Ponti-

Pontificii in hoc suo missatico negotio tres gravissimos errores nobis obtrudunt. Esse nimirum in missa reale, externum & propriè dictum Sacrificium. Esse inibi Sacerdotem qui actionem Sacrificandi propriè dictam exercet; Esse denique potestatem huic Sacerdoti pro voluntate & intentione sua applicandi tam vivis quam mortuis prædicti Sacrificii efficaciam salutarem.

Nos è contra asserimus, primo in missa nihil posse nominari 1
aut ostendi quod sit Sacrificabile aut quod rationem & essentiam realis, externi & propriè dicti Sacrificii, quamvis quæ adhiberi in eadem solent preces, eleemosyna, gratiarum actiones, spiritualium Sacrificiorum nomen sortiantur; quamvis etiam ipsa representatio fracti corporis Christi & fusi sanguinis figuratè Sacrificium à veteribus sæpenumero vocetur.

Secundo Contendunt Pontificii Presbyteros suos esse secun- 2
darios quosdam novi Testamenti Sacerdotes, & in missa sua actionem Sacrificandi propriè dictam præstare.

Sed nobis Iesus Christus est solus & æternus, neque successorum, neque vicariorum indigus novi Testamenti Sacerdos. Quæro enim cui bono alii Sacerdotes substituerentur ipsi Christo, non ut Sacrificium ejus adumbrent, tanquam futurum est enim olim Deo exhibitum, non hodie exhibendum, non ut significent tanquam factum, nam repræsentare illud ut factum est Sacramentum celebrare non Sacrific ũ offerre. Non denique ut agant quod actum fuit ab ipso Christo seipsum offerente, nam hoc & mutile esset si fieret, & plane impossibile est ut fiat. Hactenus igitur in missa Pontificia, neque Sacrificium propriè dictum, neq; Sacerdotem, neq; actionem ipsam Sacrificandi, vel ipsi missarum opifices ostendere potuerunt.

Doctor *Hall* Lord Bishop of *Exeter* in his Book, intituled *No peace with Rome.*

Sect. 9.

What opposition is there betwixt the order of *Melchisedech* and *Aaron*, betwixt Christ and the Priests of the old Law, if this office do equally passe and descend in a long pedigree of mortall successors? or why were the legall Sacrifices of the Jewish Synagogue so oft repeated, but because they were not perfect? And how can or why should that which is most absolutely perfect, be reiterated?

What can either be spoken or conceived more plainly then those words of God, Once offred, One Sacrifice, One oblation; And yet these popish shavelings (devout men) take upon them to Crucifie and Sacrifice Christ again.

We will remember the holy Sacrifice of Christ (as *Cassander* well advises) and celebrate it with a thankfull heart, we will not repeat it; We will gladly receive our Saviour offred by himself to his father, and offred to us by his father, we will not offer him to his father; which one point, whilest we stick at (as we needs must) we are straight stricken with the thunderbolt of the *Anathema* of *Trent*; Here can be therefore no possibility of peace.

Doctor Abbot *late Lord Bishop of Sarisbury, and publike Professor of Divinity, in the Vniversity of Oxford in his Counterproof, against Doctor* Bishops *reproof of the defence of the Reformed Catholike.*

Cap. 14. *pag.* 364.

It is truely said by *Cyprian*, that the Passion of Christ is the Sacrifice which we offer, and because the Passion of Christ is not now really acted, therefore the Sacrifice which we offer, *is no true and reall Sacrifice.* Now therefore the oblation of the Altar,

of

of which S. *Augustine* speaketh hath no reference to the Masse, which they hold to be a *proper* and reall Sacrifice.

But now strange it should seem, that the Apostle in those words should be thought to have any intention of the Sacrifice of the Masse, who in the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (if it were he) whilest he destroyeth the Jewish Priesthood, for the advancing of the Priesthood of Christ, argueth impregnably to the disavowing of all reall Sacrifice thenceforth in the Church of Christ. Whilest he affirmeth but one Priest in the New Testament, insteed of many in the old, he absolutely taketh away all the ranke and succession of popish Priests. Pag. 365.

Doctor Bilson *late Lord Bishop of Winchester in his Book of the true difference between Christian subjection, and unchristian rebellion, the 4 Part. P. 691.*

If the death of Christ be the Sacrifice which the Church offreth, it is evident that Christ is not onely Sacrificed at this Table, but also crucified, and crufied in the self same sort and sense that he is Sacrificed, but no man is so mad to defend, that Christ is really put to death in these Mysteries, *Ergo* neither is he really Sacrificed under the formes of Bread and Wine.

His reasons why we do not use the word Sacrifice *so often as the Fathers did, Pag. 702.*

There are reasons why we do not think our selves bound, to take up the frequent use of their terms in that point, as we see you do, for first they be such words as Christ and his Apostles did forbear, and therefore our faith may stand without them. Next they be dark, and obscure speeches, wholly depen-

ding on the nature and ſignification of Sacraments. Thirdly, we finde by experience before our eyes how their phraſes have entangled your ſenſes, whiles you greedily purſued the words, and omitted the rules which ſhould have mollified and directed the letter: Theſe cauſes make us the waryer, and the willinger to keep us to the words of the holy Ghoſt, though the Fathers applications, if you there withall take their expoſitions, do but in other terms teach that which we receive and confeſſe to be true.

Biſhop Jewell *the Iewell of Biſhops, in defence of his 17. Article, which Book is by publique authority to be kept in every Church.*

Pag. 424. Even ſo S. *Ambroſe* ſaith Chriſt is offred here on earth, (not *really* and *indeed*, as Maſter *Harding* ſaith) but in like ſort and ſenſe, as S. *Iohn* ſaith, the Lamb was ſlain from the beginning of the world that is, not *ſubſtantially*, or in reall manner, but in ſignification in a Myſtery, and in a figure.

Pag. 427. As Chriſt is neither daily borne of the Virgin *Mary*, nor daily crucified, nor daily ſlain, nor daily riſeth from the dead, nor daily ſuffereth, nor daily dyeth, but onely in a certain manner of ſpeech, not verily and indeed, even ſo Chriſt is daily Sacrificed onely in a certain manner of ſpeech, and in a Myſtery, *but really, verily, and indeed*, he is not Sacrificed.

Archiepiſcopus Spalatenſis, *while he was ours, that is while he was himſelf, de rep. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 6.*

Pag. 204. *Nobis ſatis eſt apud Chryſoſtomum, Euchariſtiam in ſe continere Sacrificium quoddam commemorativum, ac conſequenter in ea non fieri verum Sacrificium.*

Pag. 280. *Confirmat hæc omnia Bellarminus ex eo quod in Eccleſia antiquus*

antiquus sit usus & nomen altarium altare vero & Sacrificium sunt correlativa.] *Respondeo quale Sacrificium tale Altare, Sacrificium* impropriè, *Altare* impropriè.

Esse verum Sacrificium nunquam usque ad postrema corrupta sæcula invenio aut dictum, aut cogitatum, aut traditum aut practicatum in Ecclesia. Pag 281.

Doctor *Raynolds*, professor of Divinity, extraordinary in the University of *Oxford*, in his Conference with *Hart. c.8. divis.4.*

Sith the Sacrifice offered in the Masse, is a true and proper Sacrifice (as you define it) and that of the Fathers is not a true Sacrifice, but called so *improperly*, it remaineth to be concluded that the Fathers, neither said Masse, nor were Masse Priests.

Laurence Humphrey, *Doctor of the Chair in Oxford in his answer to Campian de conciliis, P.424.*

Quale est Sacrificium, talis est sacerdos, qualis sacerdos tale esse debet Altare, sive de Christo propriè *loquamur, sive de nobis Christianis* impropriè.

De Sacrarum literarum sententia, *Pag.155.*

Sacramentum propriè *ab omnibus*, metaphoricè *à nonnullis Patribus Sacrificium nuncupatur.*

Doctor *Field* Dean of *Glocester* in his Appendix to his third Book of the Church. *Pag.207.*

Christ was Sacrificed on the Crosse, when he was Crucified and cruelly put to death of the Jews; but how he should now be *really* Sacrificed, Sacrificing implying in it a destruction of the thing Sacrificed, it is very hard to conceive.

Doctor Crakanthorp *in his answer to Spalatensis. Cap.74.*

Sed nec omnino verum & propriè dictum *Sacrificium in Missa ullum est.*

Doctor Whitaker *publike professor of Divinity in Cambridge, in his answer to M*r Rainolds, *cap.4.p.76.*

You cannot pull in sunder these two offices, but if you will needs be Priests, and that *properly* according to the order of *Melchisedech*, then seeing that order of Priesthood hath a Kingdome inseperably annexed to it, it must necessarily follow that you are also Kings, and that *properly*, which were a very proper thing indeed, and greatly to be accounted of.

Doctor Fulke, *in his answer to the Rhemists, on Heb.7. vers* 12.

Neither doth any ancient Father speak of a Sacrifice in the form of bread and wine, although many do call the Sacrament which is celebrated in bread and wine, a Sacrifice *unproperly*, because it is a remembrance of the one onely Sacrifice of Christs death, and because the spirituall Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is offered therein, not by the Minister onely, but by the whole Church that is partaker thereof.

*Again the same Author in Hebr.*13.*vers.* 10.

The Apostle meaneth Christ to be this Altar, who is our Priest, Sacrifice, and Altar, and not the Table whereon the Lords Supper is ministred, which is called an Altar, but *improperly*, as the Sacrament is called a Sacrifice.

Doctor Willet, *in his Synopsis, Controv.*13. *Quæst.*2.

If there remain still in the Church a *read, externall* Sacrifice, then there must be also a *reall* and *externall* Priesthood, and so a multitude of sacrificing Priests, but this i contrary to the Scripture, that maketh this difference between the Law and the Gospel, that then there were many Priests, because they

were

were not suffered to endure by reason of death, but now Christ hath an everlasting Priesthood, Heb. 7. 23,24.50. so that he is the onely Priest of the Gospel, *ergo*, there being no more *sacrificing Priests*, there is no such Sacrifice, for it were a derogation to the everlasting Priesthood of Christ, to ordain other Priests beside.

Master Perkins, *in his Reformed Catholique.* 11 *point of the Sacrifice of the Lords Supper.*

Heb. 7. 24, 25. The holy Ghost makes a difference betwixt Christ the High Priest of the new Testament, and all Leviticall Priests in this, That they were many, one succeeding another, but he is the onely one, having an eternall Priesthood, which cannot passe from him to another. Now if this difference be good, then Christ alone in his own very person, must be the Priest of the new Testament, and no other with or under him, otherwise in the new Testament, there should be more Priests in number than in the old. *Reas.* 4.

Alexander Nowell, *Dean of* Pauls, *in his Catechism, ordained for publique use, and so allowed in our Church.*

M. An fuit instituta a Christo cœna ut Deo Patri hostia pro peccatis expiandis immolaretur?

A. Minimè, nam Christus mortem in cruce occumbens unicum illud sempiternum Sacrificium semel in perpetuum pro nostra salute obtulit, nobis vero unum hoc tantum reliquum esse voluit, *ut maximum utilitatis fructum, quem sempiternum illud Sacrificium nobis præbet, grati ac memores percipiamus, quod quidem in cœna dominica præcipuè præstare debemus.*

Thus have we seen that neither by the light of nature,

nature, nor by the definition of a Sacrifice, nor by the Institution of our Saviour, nor by the practice of his Apostles, nor by the suffrage of the Primitive Fathers, nor by the authority of our Church, nor by the testimony of the most eminent Writers therein, it yet appears, either that our Ministers are *properly* called Priests, or our Sacrament of the Eucharist *properly* a Sacrifice, or our Communion-Table *properly* an Altar, but rather the contrary that they are all improperly so called. Which being so, whether the proper situation thereof should in congruity be either Table-wise for the administring of a Sacrament, or Altar-wise for the offering of a Sacrifice, I leave that to the prudent Governours of our Church, and better judgements than mine own to consider and determine of.

FINIS.

6

THE DIVINE DREAMER:

OR,

A ſhort treatiſe diſcovering the true effect and power of Dreames;

Confirmed by the moſt learned and beſt approved Authors.

Whereunto is annexed

The Dreame of a young Gentleman, immediatly before the death of the late Earle of STRAFFORD.

Printed in the yeare 1641.

TO THE VERTVOVS CARINDA.

MADAM,

IT was your pleasure not long since to admit me into your Ladiships presence, where I tooke the boldnesse to begin a discourse of the Planets, and to declare the power of them: which conference did arise from the death of Sir Thomas Wentworth, who departed this world in his Clymacterical yeare. A friend of mine being at the place of execution heard a pittifull Lady warble forth a mournfull ditty; and as soone as her eyes beheld his head parted from his shoulders, she uttered these words with teares in her eyes, (O what wit, treson, harmes) which being examined, were the true letters of (Sir Thomas Wentworth) without adding or taking away of a letter. Well might she confidently affirme what she said, since none will deny but that the cutting off the head, spoyles the wit. I have according to your Ladiships command, sent you this dream

of the Lord of Strafford, in regard formerly you have been pleased to lend an eare to my tedious relation; the which is included within a small treatise, stiled, the Divine Dreamer, *together with the service*

Of your Servant

GONZALO.

The ſeverall Heads.

The

The Divine Dreamer.

IN the first place I shall set downe the definition of a Dreame: A Dreame is that which appeareth to us while we are sleeping; not by the function of the eyes, but by imagination. Some Dreames leave a man joyfull and well disposed at a thing: Contrariwise, there are others sad and offensive, that for divers dayes after such dreames, procure a melancholy languishing both in Soule and Body, making a man unable to receive any delight.

Many have presaged by these dreames both of good lucke and bad, which soone after should happen unto them. Some ignorant people have not spared to say, that they are the soules of deceased persons, or Angels, that doe advertise men of such things as shall ensue unto them. My purpose is not to discourse if the soules of the deceased have at any time returned into the world, I leave that to be decided by learned Divines; but will discourse of the causes naturall, both concerning

cerning pleasing dreames, and such as are turbulent and offensive.

Dioscorides, *Pliny*, and *Galen* say, that there are divers kindes of meates which doe ingender and cause sorrowfull dreames, as Beanes, Pease, Coleworts, Garlicke, Onions, Leekes, Chesnuts, and all opening roots, the flesh of a Boare, or old Hare, and Beefe, all water-fowles, as Duck, Goose, and the like. All troubled wines; nor is there any doubt to be made, but that commonly, according to such meates as wee use in our feeding, raising humours answerable to their severall qualities, that dreames are begotten of the same nature. All these meates before mentioned, with many others, which I have omitted, doe ingender evill humours, and are cholericke, phlegmaticke, and melancholy. It is necessary then, that the body that hath been used to such kindes of meates, should likewise bee of the temper of the said humours, and that the manners and actions of the soul, should follow the temperature of the body, *Galen* is of opinion, and hath written a booke thereof expressly. Likewise such men as have sustained some great losse, either in their honours, body, goods, parents, kindred or friends, and oftentimes in their dreames they have very strange, fearfull and mournfull

apparitions: For many times it comes to passe, that men dreame in the night time, seeming to speake, see, understand, negotiate in the precedent dayes affairs, or else on some thing whereto they beare much affection; But by meates that are easily digested, causeth pleasant dreames. Such as eate annisseeds after supper, or when they are going to bed, or have fed with Saffron, or dranke with Burrage or Balnte, he will not onely have a subtill spirit, but also will dreame very acceptable things. There is a certaine Unguent prepared by Apothecaries, which is called *Populeon*, in regard of the juice of Poplar leaves, if the temples be rubbed therewith, and chafed with the liver, veines, the branches of the great Arteries, and the soles of the feet, it is not onely the provocation of sound sleepe, but it causeth also delightfull and facetious dreames. *Cicedamus* saith, that himselfe made an oyntment compounded in this manner: the fat of young infants taken out of their graves, the single of Persley, of Aconitum, of Pantaphilon, wherewith if some women and weake persons had chaft their brames, it is almost incredible to speake what and how many things they did perswade themselves to see; one while matters of delight, as Theaters, Gardens, Fish-ponds,

Orna-

Ornaments, & the like, so they imagined they lay with him or her of whom they were most desirous. Otherwhiles they seemed to see Kings and Magistrates with their guards and attendants; yea, all the glory and pompe of mankinde, with many other excellent things, as wee see in paintings farre greater then ever Nature made them. At other times they did see heavy sights, as Ravens, Scritchoules, Prisons, Dens, and Torments.

Having spoken concerning the qualities of Dreames occasioned, and proceeding from sustentation, and also some things externally applyed, I will now speake of such as doe predestinate sicknesse and diseases, and that by naturall causes. *Hippocrates* saith, that if a man doe dreame that he seeth fire, it noteth the Dreamer to bee abounding in Choler, or of a Cholericke humour and disposition, whereby hee is very apt to fall into hot and burning diseases. Hee that dreameth he seeth smoake or mists, or profound darknesse, is much disposed to melancholy sicknesses. To dreame of raine and moysture betokeneth the abounding with good humours. To dreame of storme, haile, or ice, signifieth the redundance of phlegme to bee most cold; the constitution of the aire hath such power over humane bodies that it

 impres-

impresseth both in the body and the soule the present qualities and dispositions thereof. *Galen* declares that a man dreamed that his left thigh was transformed into a Marble stone, and within a short while after by a dead Palsie hee lost utterly the use of that member. A Wrastler dreamed that he was in a vessell full of bloud, and so deepe therein that scarcely the top of his head could bee seene. *Galen* gathered by this dreame that hee had great neede of taking some bloud from him, by meanes whereof he was cured of the pluisie. Others dreamed that they were bathing themselves in a Bath of hot water. The Physitian prognosticated upon this dreame, that the Patient must be freed from this disease by judicatory swimming which thereon followed, and thereby he won great reputation; whosoever dreameth that he is pressed with a great burthen, there is no doubt but his animall faculties are oppressed by a great multitude of humours: contrariwise, such as dreame they flye in the aire, runne, leape, and dance, denoteth a light body exempt from the superaboundance of vitious humours. Such as dreame that they are in dunghills and such like filthy places, they must needes bee possessed of noysome humours, but they to whom it appeares that

they

they are conversant in pleasant, sweete, and delightfull places, good humours doe abound in them, and it is a signe of health.

Besides these forenamed dreames, I will not here insert that there are none but such as are grounded upon naturall causes, but on the grace of God, especially hee giveth advice to some men to expresse such things for the benefit & good of others: as hapned to *Galen* the Physitian, who had a man under his care that had an artery in his ancle bone halfe cut in sunder, whereby hee lost all his bloud before any remedy could be applyed to him: hee writeth that hee was advertised in his sleepe that hee should cut the artery in sunder and the ends would retire to each side, and so locke together againe, when hee awaked hee executed what his dreame had represented to him, & by that meanes hee cured the man. We read likewise of an Angell that appeared in the form of the goddesse *Pallas* to *Antonius* (Physitian to *Augustus*) admonishing him that though *Augustus* was sicke, yet hee should not faile to bee present in the battell, which was on the morrow to be given by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and that he should there abide in his tent, which he would have done, but that the Physitians perswaded him to the contrary, for it came to passe that the

enemies souldiers wonne the tents, where questionlesse they had slaine *Augustus* if hee had beene present there; So by this dreame he prevented his death, wonne the day, and remained sole Monarch of the Roman Empire: under his Reigne was borne the Redeemer of the World. *Quintus Curtius* declares in the life of *Alexander*, that when he maintained his siege before the City of Tyre, hee being entred for succour of the Carthaginians, who said they were descended of the Tyrians, concluded to raise his siege as dispayring ever to surprize it, but in a dreame a Satyre appeared unto him, after whom hee followed, as hee fled before him into his Chamber. His Interpreters told him that this was a certaine forewarning to continue his siege for longer daies before the City, and that hee should surely take it, which fell out to be true; and this long before had beene foretold by a Prophet, who said that a Greek should governe in the Country.

The Scriptures are full of Dreams, whereby divers Princes have beene admonished both for their owne and peoples welfare, as *Abimelech* King of Gerar, who was possessed of *Abrahams* wife, supposing she had been his sister, onely hee was fore-warned sleeping, that hee should attempt nothing against her modesty,

modesty, lest he incurred the judgement of God, and he obeyed. Another Egyptian King by Dreames which *Ioseph* interpreted to him whilest hee was in prison, found nevertheless the assistance of God to shun his owne ruine, and the death of his people, by a barrennesse in his Kingdome, which should continue for seven yeares, after as many years of rest: by reason whereof he made such provision of graine, that he had sufficient to serve the people during those fore-told seven yeares; whereas else hee had wanted provision for his people. *Katherine de Medicis*, Queen of France, and wife to *Henry* the second, dreamed the very same day before the said King was wounded to death, that shee saw him very sickly, holding downe his head as he walked downe the streets of Paris, being followed by an infinite company of his people that lamented for him: hereupon shee most earnestly intreated him (and as is said) with wringing hands upon her knees, not to adventure into the ranke of Tilters on that day; but hee giving no heed to her words, the last day of the feasting for the marriage of Madam *Margret*, sister to *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of Savoy, for her honour; and turning to breake a Lance against a bold and valiant Knight (to wit) the Count of Montgomery,

gomery, happened to bee wounded: for in the Lances breaking on both sides, a shiver or Splinter entred by the sight of his Helmet, and strucke very farre into his head. The King died soone after of this wound, aged about 40 yeares, leaving his Kingdome lamenting his losse: wee may observe the dreame of this great Princesse, and how it happened, whereof doubtlesse God gave premonitions by his good Angell, both for her good, and the whole realme of France; but the King more desirous to follow the vanities of the world, then the good advertisements of his wife, by his decease the people of France suffered many calamities. His son *Henry* 3. three dayes before he was murdred at S. *Cloa*, beheld in a dream all his royall ornaments, to wit, his linnen vesture, Sandals Dalmatium robe, mantle of azure Sattin, Crown and Scepter, bloudy and made foule with the feet of religious men, and other people, and that he himselfe was angry with the Sexton of the Abby of S. *Dennis*; & albeit all good advice was given him, according to the danger of his dreame, stands securely upon his guard; yet so it fell out as a thing permitted by heaven, that hee could not avoyd that fatall chance, but was slain, whatsoever strong guard was there about him.

Calphienia wife to the adopted father of *Cæsar*, having dreamed that she beheld *Cæsar* slaine and massacred, gave him notice thereof, but he instead of converting of it to his benefit, dispised the dreame, and went to the Senate house, the day following where the dreame sorted to woefull effect.

I cannot omit the dreame and revelation of *Ioane d'Arke*, the Virgin that dreamed, that shee her selfe should be the only meanes to put *Charles* the seventh in possession of his Kingdome. After he had acquainted her father and mother with her dreame, she is brought to the Lord *Baudicate*, and habited like a man, is presented to the King. The matter seemed ridiculous to the King, he takes upon himselfe the habit of a Countryman, this Maid being brought into the Chamber goeth to the King, and salutes him with a modest countenance, and delivered to him the charge which shee had received of the God of heaven, and told him that shee should be the meanes to place the Crowne upon his head, and relieve *Orleance* that was besieged by the English. The King was perswaded to give her a Troope of one hundred, and a good horse. She puts her selfe into a mans habit, and like a valorous Captaine goeth toward *Orleance*, and relieveth the Towne with victualls without resistance. After shee was in *Orleance*, shee sends a Letter to the King of ENGLAND, and his

Troopes, and wisheth them to depart without shedding any more innocent blood.

Ioane d'Arke a second time relieveth *Orleance*, and brings in fresh provision, she makes choyce of 1500 men, and enters the Fort of Saint Loope, the virgin in the formost of the ranckes, crying Saint *Denis*, the next day they tooke two other Forts, on the third day, the English made the French recoyle, but the virgin incouraging her men, and marching couragiously was shot in the arme; (tush saith she) this is a favour, nothing amazed, she takes the arrow in one hand and her sword in the other, and enters the Fort, in these three dayes the English lost eight thousand men, and the French not one hundred, and as a remembrance of their victories, the Statues of *Charles* the seventh and *Ioane d'Arke*, are placed upon the Bridge of *Orleance*, kneeling before a Crucifix.

Charles the seventh is crowned at *Rheins* all *Champaigne* yeelds unto him, and the King that was in great danger of loosing his Kingdome, is now an absolute King.

I shall in the last place relate a Dreame of a young Gentleman, which of late hapned, the truth of which is fresh in my memory, this Gentleman being disquieted with the thundring of Peeces, which his Imagination told him was in the ayre, and not upon earth, looking towards the heavens, he did conceive that he saw a great

Army

Army ready to encounter with another, and observing the Leaders, he perceived one to be a tall blacke man, the other low of ſtature, the tall blacke man ran with his Rapier againſt the ſame, and tranſported thus with fury, he ſtumbled and fell, and as he fell divers arrowes were ſhot, ſome out of the North, ſome out of the South, ſome out of the Weſt, ſome out of Eaſt, as if all the foure quarters had blowne no other blaſts, after this appeared divers like ghoſts, walking with Croſier ſtaffes who ſeemed to harden and incourage the Souldiers, yet their arguments could not win them to give battle, theſe in the twinkling of an eye loſt their pure whitneſſe, and ſhewed themſelves in blacke with Miters falling from their heads, next to theſe followed a troop of Shavelings, ſome carrying Croſſes, others praying with Beads, but on the ſuddaine a pillar of fire appeared, and they vaniſhed, and all the heavens ſeemed to be diſturbed looking downeward hee ſaw a grave old man ſitting in a Chaire of State upon the top of a mountaine, having a Septer in his hand, with a Treple Crowne on his head, having with him diverſe habited in long roabs and red hats, that ſeemed to hold the chaire, whilſt his eye was buſied in the view of them, a thunder-bolt fell and cleft the mountaine which ſwallowed them up, then he ſeemed to paſſe through pleaſant fields, and the firſt he met with was a young Cavalero,

the next he met withall was a poore souldier, now thought the young gallant that he should learne what was the variance betweene these troupes, but before the gentleman could speake to him, the souldier made towards him, and like a bold ruffian demanded his purse who was a little unwilling, yet having no remedy to prevent the taking thereof did deliver it, and in requitall, the souldier said, Come you to heare newes? in briefe it is thus, our Generall being dead our armies were disbanded; and having uttered the words, vanished, and in his roome entred a poore Countrey man who was very desirous to learne whether he met with any souldiers that had driven away his cattell, for hee pitied this poore man, but could give him no comfort in regard his money was taken away from him: the gentleman passing on, came to a great house that was fortified with bulwarks, trenches and well man'd; and on the side of it was an arme of the Sea, but in regard hee could not give the word hee was not admitted: as hee passed by hee perceived one that was looking under a tree to take the true height of a Starre: falling into conference with him hee told him what a vision he had seene, and would neeeds know what this blacke man was that fell from heaven; the Astronomer told him if he would have a little patience till he had laid his Mathematicall Instruments aside hee would

would ſhew him his full proportion: whereupon drawing forth a ſmall glaſſe out of a box that expreſſed ſuch curioſity, as if many Artiſts had aſſembled together to compoſe it; no ſooner was the box opened, but the beauty of that which was contained therein, made the young Gentleman ſtand and admire whether that which his eye beheld, was the worke of Art or nature, or both.

Having taken a ſmal ribband which was of a skin colour, from the ſides of the box, he drew forth a glaſſe in an Ovall frame, ſet round with Diamonds and rubies, the middle thereof was made of Topaz, and ſo exactly cut, as it ſufficiently expreſſed the skill of the Lapidary. On one ſide of the glaſſe he could perceive this tall man habited like a Prince, on the otherſide like a mourner, and by him an executioner, with this inſcription over his head in great letters (worſer rul'd not traytors head muſt off) now Sir ſaid the Aſtronomer caſt up each Letter of this inſcription, and you ſhall finde out his name and title, the which hee preſently and readily undertooke, by transplacing the Letters, and found it to be Sir *Thomas Wentworth* Lord *Strafford*: It was no ſmall wonder to him, to ſee that his Lordſhips name and title ſhould ſo truely divine his nature and fortune, no ſooner had

 this

this astronomer shewed this glasse, but he vanished, and making a horrible noyse at his departure, the Gentleman awaked, and fell againe into a sweet slumber, and soone after gave this Relation to divers.

I am of opinion with *Volaterans*, that many times a person going to his rest, not cloyed with bad affections, nor superfluity of food; but being vertuously minded, and healthfully disposed, his soule in sleeping may foresee things to come, for the soule, which of it selfe is divine and celestiall, being not offended with any evill cogitations, or over-bad meats, is at free liberty, and best performeth her actions when the body sleepeth, not being busied with any other matters.

FINIS.

A

AN ANSVVER TO The most Envious, Scandalous, and Libellous Pamphlet, Entituled,

MERCURIES MESSAGE.

OR,

The Copy of a Letter sent to *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* now prisoner in the *Tower*.

London Printed in the yeare, 1641.

An Answer to the most envious, scandalous and libellous Pamphlet, Entituled, MERCURIES MESSAGE.

HOw now! what ist which I doe vainly read,
Ought which belongs to Popish Romish Creed?
I am deceiv'd, it is a Letter call'd,
(At which I blushe) A hypocriticke scald,
Which did affront true Protestantine heads,
No whit belonging unto Papall Beads.
For such vaine trifles, O the Authors scorne,
Although of Riches, yet not of truth forlorne,
The Letter thus begins with Dash above,
My Lord, as if the consequence were love.
But read forward, and you shall truely finde,
No love at all, but a most envious minde.

My Lord,

I call you what not long agoe you were,
For now those golden dayes are past I feare,
I feare, O Sycophantick and base straine,
Which for to name, a good man will disdaine;
He feares but what Bishops will nere goe downe,
Whose mature learning once did *England* crowne:
Suppose that some be bad, must therefore all?
Let bad men suffer, but the just nere fall.
Each railing line I doe not now intend
To answer, lest they cry me the Popes friend:
Onely to chiefest points I doe reply,
And that Ile doe, although for it I die.
Are we not all by nature bad? why then
Descended Christ so low to save us men?
But there's world a Sect ith' which dare to say,
Their merits save them, what have they to pay,

But ſuch are Romaniſts; but w'have a Sect,
Which have Saint-like beleeſe of which they cracke.
And ſuch are thoſe which we call Schiſmaticks,
Which think to gaine heaven by ſoothing tricks.
And ſuch a one was he which lately writ
A Libell, to divulge his zealous wit.
Zealous ſaid I? excuſe me (Reader) pray,
Expreſſing zealous, I am not to ſtay.
No zeale it is maliciouſly to raile,
Againſt a Priſoner, ſuppoſe he were fraile,
Let Law condemne him not each envious Pen,
Which ſometimes will diſpraiſe the beſt of men.
I doe not ſay that he was ſuch a one,
That God forbid, there Ile let him alone.
Let Law purſue him, and God forbid againe,
That my raſh pen ſhould more augment his paine.
Hence ſuperſtition, hence baſe Romiſh weeds,
And hence I ſay all hypocritick deeds.
Suppoſe that he bowed vainly to the Altar,
For that muſt he be hangd with Inkie halter?
But he did Sermons hate, and thoſe abuſe,
Which to preach often piouſly did uſe.
Did he doe ſo? in it he was too blame;
Let juſtice ſtill obſcure his once bright fame.
But he at name of (Jeſus) ſtill did bow,
Why not? doth not the Scripture allow?
That at his name each knee ſhould lowly bend;
Hath Scripture err'd and now at length amend?
But 'tis the heart muſt bow, not outward knee.
Did not God make them both? pray anſwer me?
Why at his Name then ſhould they not both bend,
Which dy'd for man, his deſerved griefe to end?
Sure Antagoniſt to me thou'lt ſubſcribe,
If thou in hope wert of a ten pound bribe,
O ſuch a gift would make thee for to faulter,
Thou'ſt buy new ſhooes, and eke ſcrape to the Altar.

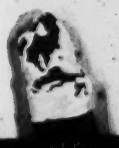
What

What is thy anſwer Libeller to this?
I know ther's nothing comes to thee amiſſe.
Wert thou a Biſhop, thou would'dſt then believe,
Nay ſweare no harme could be in a Lawne ſleeve.
Thou wantedſt money when thou writſt thy Letter,
And by thy ſcandall made thy ſtate grow better;
Thou art ſome Poet to the ſhort hair'd crew,
Who long ſince bid to honeſty adue:
Thou wilt not ſwear, but lie, I know thou wilt,
Thy actions are not pure, yet purely gilt,
Did any one your Letter much applaud,
Which you did dedicate to little *Laud*;
Surely no wiſe man, and yet you rail'd well,
Your tongue's not fit for Billingſgate, but hell.
It did ſell well, would'ſt know the reaſon why?
Each man deſir'd to reade thy knavery;
I wonder much thy name thou durſt not ſhow,
That all the world thy witty parts might know;
It was your modeſty I doe ſuppoſe,
Or elſe for feare, *Brandon* ſhould get your hoſe,
Had you but heard what thankes you had for it,
Of all wiſe men, you'd curſe your railing wit:
O what an Age i'st which we doe live in?
One doth offend, the other laughes at ſin;
Chriſt ore Jeruſalem did much lament,
He ſorry was for ſin it ſhould be ſhent;
But man triumphs his brother being in thrall,
Naught more doth joy him than his brothers fall:
Arch-Biſhop *Laud* is lately falne, and we
Seeme to rejoyce at his ſad miſery;
Me thinkes for him that we ſhou'd rather weepe,
Becauſe by Satan he was lull'd aſleepe:
Than triumph at his fall, we ought to pray,
Though Law his corps, God may not his ſoule ſlay;
O brawling Libeller which lately writ,
Meere blaſphemy for to divulge thy wit:

Some of thy lines I will peruse, and then
A Libeller prove to be the worst of men.
Blest were the man could light on such good hap,
To beat out thy eyes with's Babylonian Cap,
With some quaint jeere to breake your Graces pate,
Our wits employed are early and late.
We scorne sayes one, his vices to applaud,
We know the Devill must have little *Laud*.
O sayes a second, hee's a gallant prize,
And by his fall young *Gregory* must rise,
Me thinks your Honour, yea your Honours head,
Hangs in the Ayre by a small twisted threed,
Which to Heav'ns praise, Hels joy, & Londons wonder,
No further read: eye-strings will burst asunder.
For rage I'm filled, shivering amaze
Commands me further not on's lines to gaze.
(Blest were the man) if blessednesse it were
Authority of time to stand in feare.
See how he sooths the world, nay seemes to pray,
That it the life of *Laud* would snatch away;
What is the *Parliament* of late growne dull,
Bequeathing Justice unto this base gull!
O far be such a sentence from my thought,
I know with wisdome their heads still be fraught,
But yet this Varlet (marke what I shall say)
From them doth seeme Justice to take away.
O what a fiction doth he slily raise,
For which he deserves more than Poets Bayes,
A rope to boot, (He scornes vice to applaud)
He knowes the Devill must have Bishop *Laud*,
For so his meaning is, I dare to tell,
He is no man but disguis'd Fiend of Hell:
For mortall against mortall never had
Such damn'd expression, to answer which I'm sad:
O sinfull man, for if man so thou art,
Where was thy charity, where thy fleshy heart?

What,

What, all compos'd of malice? tho he was
Perhaps thy enemy, what then? Alas,
Thy Saviour thousands of foes had more,
And yet to them did he shew mercy store.
He lov'd his foes, and for his foes did die:
They 'gainst him, not he them, cry'd, crucifie.
He lost his life, perhaps thou liberty,
His reason was, to cure mans misery.
I grieve to read thy foolery, weepe to see,
How each line patcht up is with mockery:
Thou mayst report me to be Romanist,
Because I strive for to dissolve thy mist
Of ignorance; Hadst thou here thy owne blame,
Thou wouldst not shew thy selfe for very shame;
An Hypocrite of all men is the worst,
Of all good men abhorr'd and held accurst.
Judas will answer, Master is it I,
When as his heart was full of treachery;
Absalom his Father flatter often did,
And yet within his breast lay Treason hid:
Saul made a shew that he did *David* love,
And yet his life he sought for to remove.
Thou writ'st satyrick: yet I doe beleeve,
Should he acquitted be and longer live;
Thou would most willingly his Chaplaine be,
Hence, hence deceit, hence damb'd hypocrisie
Ye are the Devils golden glittering baites,
Your outside's faire, your inward base deceits.
Wise men doe shun such old ore gilded walles,
Which doe triumph ore Fortunes Tennis bals.
No *Canterburian* I, though Kentish borne,
I shun his actions, and his censure scorne.
Yet give me leave for to lament his case,
Let me be sorry for his want of grace,
Which once so gracious was, don't him deride,
But draw example from his lofty pride.



Let

Let Justice take his corps, but let all pray,
His soule may goe the narrow and straight way:
Now Libeller fare well, and the next time,
Assault no prisoner with thy envious rime.

An Acrosticall Caveat to beware of Hypocrisie.

B*eware hereafter of this Hypocrite,*
E*lse will my Satyre strive him sure to bite.*
W*as it desert that caus'd him brawle? it was,*
A*nd yet me think this grace desir'd a pause,*
R*egard at length the greatnesse of his praise,*
E*la the highest note did crowne his bayes.*

O*see the humours of these biting times,*
F*or Hypocrites are best to paint forth crimes.*

H*e that can best dissemble can best write,*
Y*e that doe so can act the Hypocrite.*
P*ull downe from love of Justice but a dram,*
O*there Extempore you all shall scanne*
C*ritick inventions which your wit out-ranne.*
R*enowned actions, but shall every scumme,*
I*nveagle thus the Commons like* Jack Drumme,
S*hall Sycophantick phancy draw your eares,*
I*nto a Babel of confused feares?*
E*lect some wit to scan the worke, where he*

I*s slaine prov'd guilty of Hypocrisie,*
T*is a meane phansie of a Bedlam braine,*

I*care not (sayes he) who shall read my straine.*
S*ir let me tell the Satyr bawlest too lowd,*
T*were farre more fit that he in Ixious el wd,*
H*ad hidden beene, for he's a centaure sure,*
E*lse is my Muse growne blind, so doth endure.*

W*hat ist you have old Barker, ist a fee,*
A*mounting to the summe of thirty three.*
Y*ou must expect it, Ile assure you then,*

T*ell it all ore, and youle come short of ten,*
O*that I could but see thy ill-made face.*

H*ale them to Pluto's flood as a disgrace.*
E*xtend it sure, for here we shall all finde,*
L*ent from a foule slave a Satyricke minde.*

FINIS.

THO. HERBERT.

S

B

P

T

A SERMON OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE LORDS SUPPER;

Proving that there is therein no proper sacrifice now offered;

Together with the disapproving of sundry passages in 2. Bookes set forth by Dr. *Pocklington*; the one called *Altare Christianum*, the other *Sunday no Sabbath*:

Formerly printed with Licencē.

BY
WILLIAM BRAY, Dr. of Divinity.

Now published by Command.

LONDON,
Printed by *T.* and *R.C.* for *Henry Seile*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Fleetstreete*, over against St. *Dunstans*-Church.
1641.

A SERMON OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE LORDS SVPPER.

1 Cor. 11. 26.

For as oft as ye eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup, yee doe shew the Lords Death till hee come.

THe Prophets are Comments upon the Law in the Old Testament, and the Epistles upon the Gospels in the New. My Text is part of the Epistles, and it Comments upon that command of our

Saviour to his Disciples, *Doe this in Remembrance of me.* Which is a part of the Gospell of the Institution of the Holy Communion. For that command is repeated in the 25. Verse of this Chapter, and then followes my Text immediately, as a Comment upon that Command, a Glosse upon that Evangelicall Law; *For as oft as ye eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup, ye doe shew the Lords Death till he come.*

And if you observe it well, my Text as a cleere and full Comment, explaines all the doubts and difficulties of that Text in the Gospell, *Doe this in remembrance of me.*

For *first*, there's no time exprest when this is to be done, or celebrated; so the doubt is, *First* concerning the *frequency of Celebrating*, whether *once, or more then once?* This doubt the Comment cleeres in the first words of my Text, *As oft*; so it is to be done againe, and againe, and that often.

A *second doubt* is concerning the *duration* of this blessed Sacrament: *How long?*

long? whether *temporary* or *perpetuall?* this the Comment likewise cleeres in the last words of my Text, *Till he come*; so it is to continue in the Church till our Saviours second comming.

Againe, it is not cleere in the Gospell, whither these words are to be referr'd, *Do this*, for they are mentioned onely in Saint *Luke* *, and they are mentioned after the Institution, and Consecration of the Bread onely, and not of the Cup: so the *doubt* here is, Whether they referre to the Bread alone, or to both Bread and Cup? but the Comment here directs you to referre them to both, *For as oft as ye eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup too*, saith the Text, ye doe, indicatively, or doe ye, imperatively, that is, doe both, and doe this in both.

* 22 S. Luke 19.

Besides, we doe not understand out of the Gospel, the latitude of this Command, *Doe this*, what it comprehends within it, whether the action of the Receiver onely, or of the Minister onely, or both: that is, *Totam Sacramentalem actionem*

onem, the whole Sacramentall action; here's another *doubt*.

And here againe we must have recourse to the Comment in my Text for direction, and that expounds it of *both*. First, *Doe this*, that is, *eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup*, here's the *action of the receiver* in expresse termes.

But that's not all, for what our blessed Saviour did by way of Preparation, before his Disciples Communicated (I meane not for all Circumstances, but for Essentials) as *taking* and *blessing* the Bread, and the Cup, and the *like*; that must the Ministers of Christ in all ages also doe, by vertue of this Command, *Doe this*. And this is cleere also in the Comment of my Text, though not expressely as the action of the Receiver, yet by evident consequence, and that from the *Emphasis* of the *Greeke Articles* before the Bread and Cup, τὸν ἄρτον, & τὸ ποτήριον, *This Bread*, and *this Cup*, for without the action of the Minister, in taking, and blessing the elements, the Receivers may indeed eate, and drinke

com-

common bread and wine, but they cannot bee so well assured, that they eate and drinke *this Sacramentall Bread and Wine*, so call'd here by way of Eminence, and speciall reference.

Yet farther, my Text doth cleerely expound the end of that command of our Saviour, *Doe this in remembrance of me*. First, *in remembrance*, that is, not a bare and naked remembrance lockt up onely within the closet of our owne memories, but such a remembrance, as is withall a *Remembrancer* of it, to, and with others, a *Commemoration*, whereby in a joynt Communion together, wee *proclaime*, and *shew forth* our Saviours Love. *As oft as ye eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup, ye doe, or shall shew forth*, saith my Text.

Lastly, *in remembrance of me*, saith the Command in the Gospell, *of me*, that is not so much of my Incarnation, life, miracles, doctrine, resurrection, ascension, as especially and expressely of my death, and Passion, *ye doe shew the Lords Death*, saith the Comment in my Text.

I have

I have done with the *For*, in the beginning of my Text, which connects it with the verse precedent, whereof it is a *comment*, and a *confirmation*, as you see.

To draw neerer to the Text it selfe, wherein you may observe these two generall parts, *Our service to God in the use of this blessed Sacrament*, in the former part, *As oft as yee eate this Bread and drinke this Cup:* And the *meaning of this service*, or the *Res Sacramenti, the thing signifyed by it*, in the latter part, *Ye doe shew the Lords Death till he come.*

12. Exod 26. 27. In the 12. of *Exodus* God enjoynes the people of *Israel*, that when their children should aske them concerning the Passeover, *What meane you by this Service?* that they should say, It is *the Sacrifice of the Lords Passeover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians and delivered our houses.*

In the like manner Saint *Paul*, having receiv'd it of the Lord, delivers unto us the *meaning* of this *Service* of the *Evangelicall Passeover*, It is the *Memoriall of our Savi-*

ours

ours Sacrifice offered upon the Crosse once for all, which we celebrate in remembrance of him, *to shew forth his* bitter *death* and *Passion.*

But to proceed, in the *first generall part*, which is the *Service* we are to performe to God, in the use of this *blessed Sacrament*, you have these three particulars contained. 1. *The parts of this Sacrament.* 2. *The Sacramentall actions.* 3. *The circumstances of those actions.*

1. *The parts of this Sacrament*, and they are two: *Res terrena, et Res Cœlestis*, as * *Irenæus* cals them, the *Earthy*, and the *Heavenly* part. The earthy part is here exprest, *bread and wine*; the heavenly part is the *body and blood of Christ*, here imported in the *Articles* τὸν & τὸ, *This Bread*, and *This Cup*, which hath an Emphaticall reference to the verses immediately precedent, where it is said of the *bread* and *cup* after our Saviours blessing them, that *This is my Body which is broken for you, and this Cup is the New Testament in my Blood.* This *Bread*, and This

I.

* *Iren. lib. 4. aduersus hæres. cap. 34.*

Cup that do *Sacramentally* exhibite the *Body*, and *Blood* of our *Saviour*, are here specially design'd.

2. Ye have *The Sacramentall actions*, and they are in like manner two; *Eating*, and *Drinking*; answerable to the parts of the Sacrament, *eating this Bread*, and *drinking this Cup*.

First, wee must *Eate*: It is not enough to *purpose* or *desire* to be Guests at this *heavenly Table*; neither may wee be present onely as *spectators* and *beholders*, to *see*, and to *gaze*, but we must *tast* and *eat*.

Secondly, wee must *Drinke* the *Cup* too as well as *Eat* the *Bread*, these *two* are joyn'd together by *Christ* in the *Institution*, and they may not be sever'd by *Man* without manifest impiety.

3. The *Circumstances of the actions* (which make the *third particular* in this *first generall*) they are likewise *two*.

The *first* is of *Time*: *Baptisme* is to bee *received* once onely; but this *blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper* often, both out

out of a *gratefull obedience* to our *Saviour*, and out of a *carefull regard* of our owne *spirituall advantage* by it. *As oft as yee eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup.* It is not barely ὅταν, *when*, but ὁσάκις, *how oft soever*, which implyes a *frequency*.

The second *circumstance* is of the *Persons Communicating*, *Ye*. First, *Ye* in the *plurall number* : for this *Holy Sacrament* is a *Communion*, & may not be *received* by *one alone*.

Ye againe, that are *Members* of the *Church*, Ye are to *eat* of this *Bread*, and *drinke* of this *Cup*. For he that is not entred into the *mysticall body of the Church* by *Baptisme*, is no fit *subject* as yet to partake of these *high*, and *holy* mysteries.

And these are the *severals* in the *first generall part* of the *Text*, to wit, *the Service of the Communion*.

In the *second generall part*, which is the *Meaning of this service*, ye have three *particulars* likewise, each of them sutable to the three *particulars* in the former part of the *Text*; wherein you have the speciall meaning of each *part* of the *service* declared.

 First,

First, ye have the meaning of the *Sacramentall bread* and *cup*, to wit, the *death of Christ*.

Secondly, ye have the meaning of our *eating* this *Bread*, and *drinking* this *Cup*, namely, the *shewing forth* of Christs death.

Thirdly, ye have the meaning of our *often eating* this *Bread*, and *drinking* this *Cup*: to wit, the *perpetuation* of our *Saviours memory*, so long as he is *corporally* absent from *us* here on *Earth*, even till he come againe in his *glorious presence* to *judge* the *quicke* and the *dead*. *As oft as yee eat this Bread, and drinke this Cup, yee doe shew the Lords Death till he come.*

Here's a large field of matter, I can but gather *here* and *there* an *eare of corne* as I passe along, without making any long stay upon any particular.

I begin first with the *Parts* of this *Holy Sacrament* (which is the first *particular* under the first *generall*;) and first with the *Earthy part*, or outward *Elements*, which are *Bread*, and *Wine*.

The *outward senses* of *Man* are the *windowes*

dowes or *gates* of the *soule*, nothing enters into the *soule* but by them; wee *understand* nothing, we *know* nothing, whilst wee are here in the *body*, but the *eare*, or the *eye*, or some one, or more of the *senses* present it *first* to the *soule*, and the more *senses* there are that present a matter to the *soule*, the *soule* understands it the *more clearely*, and beleeves it the *more strongly*, even as the opening of *many windows* lets in the more light into the house.

God knowes our *mould* in this, and considers *it* graciously, and accordingly he vouchsafes not onely to *instruct* and *persuade* us by the *Eare*, in the *hearing of his word*, but by the *Eye*, *Taste*, *Touch*, in the outward *elements* of this *Sacrament*, which we may *see*, *handle* and *taste*, for our further *instruction*, and *confirmation*.

If *any man* therefore, presuming upon I know not what *spirituall Revelations*, and *Seraphicall raptures*, shall neglect the *hearing of Gods Word* for his *instruction*; or if any other, resting in the *bare hearing* of the *Eare*, shall neglect this *blessed Sacrament*, wherein

God farther manifests himself to the *faithfull Soule*, by the *doore* of the rest of the *senses*; if there be any such *presuming spirits*, they very much forget themselves that they are yet in the *body*; *Yea*, they *forget* God *too*, and his *gracious condescent* herein to our *corporeall weaknesse*, who best knows whereof wee are *made*, and how best to *consider* it.

That there is an *earthy* and *sensible* part in the *Sacrament* therefore ye *see* great reason for it; But what is the *reason* of the choice of *Bread* and *Wine* to be the *sensible part* in this *Sacrament*? Was not the *killing* of the *Paschall Lamb*, and the *striking* of the *blood* therof upon the *lintell* and *sideposts* of the *doore*, a more *sensible* and *cleere* Resemblance of the *shedding* of the *blood* of the *immaculate Lambe of God*? Why then was the *Passeover* abrogated, and *Bread* and *Wine* in the *place* thereof *substituted*, as the *sensible part* of this *Sacrament*?

To omit many other most proper *Analogies*, and *aptitudes* in the *Elements* of *Bread* and *Wine*, serving for this purpose; I will onely

only give you an *account* of this *change* thus in briefe.

The *Old Testament* (you know) is *abrogated* (I meane in regard of the manner of *Administration of it*, by the *Leviticall* and *Ceremoniall* Law) and the *New* is now in *force*, the *Testator* himselfe having confirmed it by his owne *precious Death*, and *Blood-shedding*; Hence, the *shedding* of the *blood* of the *Paschall Lambe* is justly ceas'd. For after so soveraigne an *expiation* by the *Blood of Christ* himselfe, no shedding of *blood* is now necessary, as the *Apostle* argues in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*: and hence this *Sacrament* of the *New Testament* in the *breaking* of the *Bread*, and *powring* forth of the *Wine* most fitly succeeds in the *place* thereof, as being the most *apt* and *vive* expression of *blood* already *shed*, without new *blood-shedding*.

Heb. 9. & 10. ch.

Besides, though our heavenly *Father* knowes, that even under the *New Testament*, we have need of these *outward* and *sensible* things, and that for the *strengthening* of our *Faith*, whilst we are here in the

body,

body, and therefore (as ye read but now) God in his infinite *Wisedome* and *Goodnesse* to us, hath instituted *Sacraments* for us in the *New Testament*, as well as in the *Old*, which consist of an *outward* and *sensible*, as well as an *heavenly* and *spirituall* part.

Yet there is a very *observable difference* of degrees, at least, betwixt the *Sacraments* and *Services* of the *Old* and *New Testament*, even in this regard: Those of the *Law* and *Old Testament*, were more *sensible* and *earthy*, but these of the *Gospel* and *New Testament*, more *pure* and *spirituall*; the *Law* being as it were the *body* to the *Gospel*; and the *Gospel* being the *spirit* and *life* of the *Law*.

Thus the *Passeover* which was a more *crasse* and *corporeall Sacrament* is ceas'd also together with the *Law*, and in stead thereof, a *Sacrament* more sutable to the *Gospel* is instituted in *Bread* and *Wine*, which of all *sensible substances* here below, are the most *pure*, and so the fittest to set out the *spirituall service* of the *Gospel*.

The *consideration* whereof should teach us

us that live under the *Gospel*, not to rest our selves in any *bodily*, or *outward* observations, as if they were the *onely* or *principall duty* of the *Gospel*, but to use them as *helpes* onely, the better to *enable* us for the due *performing* of our *spirituall services*, which is the *perfection* the *Gospel* cals us to, and without *which* all other *performances* like a *hungry*, and *barren soyle* will yeeld but little solid *fruite*, or *comfort* to our soules.

And so I passe from the more *sensible and earthy part* of this *Sacrament*; to the *spirituall, and heavenly part*, to wit, the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*, which is imported in the *Emphasis* of the *Articles* here, This *Bread*, and This *Cup*.

Where, before we come to the *Emphasis*, and what it imports, give me leave to observe, *First*, that the *Apostle* here cals the *Sacramentall* Elements, *Bread* and *Wine*, and that after the words of *Institution*, and *Consecration*. *So*, they retaine their nature, and substance still and remaine *Bread* and *Wine*, even after this great *advancement*,

And here you may see upon what a *sandy* foundation the *Church of Rome* hath built that most *dangerous* and *destructive* doctrine of *Transubstantiation*; Saint *Paul* calls the Elements *Bread* and *Wine*, after consecration; the *Church of Rome* saith, they cease then to be *Bread* and *Wine*, their very *substance* is converted into the *substance* of the *naturall Body*, and *Blood* of *Christ*, by a new way of their owne *fancying*, which *Biel* a prime Doctor of theirs confesses, is not to be found in the *Canon* of the *Bible*,* for which they have suitably invented a new *Name* of *Transubstantiation*.

* *Biel Lect. 40. in Can. Missæ.*

And I call it a *destructive* Doctrine, and that most justly, and in *many* Regards.

For first, it destroyes the *nature* of the Elements of *Bread*, and *Wine*, by a *totall* Conversion of them into the *substance* of *Christs Body*, and *Blood*.

Secondly, it destroyes the *nature*, and *properties* of Christs *Body*, by ascribing *Infiniteness*, and *Omnipresence* not onely to the

Person

Person of *Christ*, but to his *naturall Body*, which was borne of the *Blessed* Virgin.

Thirdly, it destroyes the *Peace* of *Christendome*, or at least it hath a great *share* in it, as being *boldly*, and *rashly* defin'd by the *Church* of *Rome*, and presumptuously *impos'd* as an *Article* of *Faith*, to be beleev'd upon *Necessity* of *Salvation*.

Fourthly, it is notoriously knowne, the denyall of it hath destroy'd the *Lives* of many of Gods faithfull *Servants*, both *here*, and in *other parts* of the *Christian world*.

Fifthly, and *Lastly*, to adde no more, it's destructive of *Piety* and *Devotion* in diverting the *Soule* from *devout* and *usefull* Meditations, and drawing it aside to *subtleties* of wit, and *empty* speculations. To this purpose Master *Hooker* * excellently observes, that the Discourses of the *Romanists* concerning *Transubstantiation* are *hungry* and unpleasant, full of *tedious* and *irksome* labour, heartlesse, and without

* *Eccles. Polit. lib.* 5. *sect.* 67.

out *Fruite*; whereas the Discourses of *Ancient*, and *Later* Writers, concerning the *Mysticall* presence of *Christ*, the *use*, *efficacy*, and *benefit* of the Sacrament, are *heavenly* and *devout*; their *words sweete* as the *Honeycombe*, their *tongues* melodiously-tun'd Instruments, and their *sentences* meere Consolation, and Ioy.

II. The *second thing* which I will observe from this part, *is*, that Saint *Paul* doth not call the *Consecrated* Elements, bare *Bread* and *Wine*, and no more, but *Bread* and *Wine*, with an *Emphasis*. This *Bread*, and this *Cup*, of which it was said before in the words of *Christ*, *This* is my *Body* which is broken for you, and this *Cup* is the *New Testament* in my *Blood*.

How the *Bread* and *Wine* in this Sacrament are the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*, is a *great* Mystery to unfold.

Master *Calvin* in his fourth *Booke* of *Institutions*, Cap. xvij. calls it *sublime mysterium, cui nec mens plane cogitando, nec lingua explicando par esse potest.* A Mystery so

Calv. lib. 4. Institut. cap. 17. sect. 7.

so *sublime*, that the *minde* of *Man* is not able to comprehend it, much lesse the *tongue* to unfold it. *Quod ergo mens nostra non comprehendit, concipiat fides.* (so hee goes on excellently in the same Chapter, Sect. 10.) What therefore our *Reason* cannot comprehend, let *Faith* conceive. *Christ* hath said it, this is my *Body*, let us therefore beleeve the *Truth* of the thing.

But hee hath not said the *manner* how, let us not therefore search into that which is not written. For mine owne part (saith the same Authour *) *his absurditatibus sublatis*, set aside the absurdities which boldly and falsely define the manner of the presence of *Christs body* and *blood* in the *Lords Supper*, (Hee meanes *Consubstantiation* and *Transubstantiation*) *whatsoever may be said to expresse the Communication of the true, and substantiall Body, and Blood of the Lord, which are exhibited to the Faithfull, under the holy Symboles of the Supper, I willingly admit; and that in such sort that this participation*

* *Lib. 4. Instit. c. 17 sect 19. Cæterum his absurditatibus sublatis, quicquid ad exprimendam veram substantialemque Corporis ac sanguinis Domini communicationem, quæ sub sacris Cœnæ symbolis fidelibus exhibetur, facere potest libenter recipio: atque ita ut non imaginatione duntaxat, aut mentis intelligentia percipere sed ut re ipsa frui in alimentum vitæ æternæ intelligantur*

tion may be understood, not in Imagination onely, and Apprehension of the minde, but a Reall Fruition to nourish the body and soule to eternall Life. Thus, that *Reverend* Author, and much more to the same purpose in that place.

With the same *wisedome* and *sobriety* the *Church of England* speakes of this great Mystery, shee does not (as the *Church of Rome* unjustly charges us) exclude *Christ* out of the *Sacrament*, and make it a *bare* signe, and *Figure* of his *body* and *blood*; shee indeed denyes their *Carnall* and *Corporeall* presence of *Christ* in the *Sacrament*, and acknowledges onely an *heavenly*, and *spirituall* presence, without any farther defining of the *manner* in particular.

But for the *Truth* of the thing it selfe shee *beleeves*, and *acknowledges* expressely, That to such as *rightly*, *worthily*, and *with Faith* receive the same, the *Bread* which we *breake*, is a partaking of the *body* of *Christ*, and likewise the *Cup* of blessing, is a partaking of the *Blood* of *Christ*,

in

in the * 28. *Article of Religion*, and more fully in the * *Catechisme*, The *body* and *blood* of *Christ*, are *verily* and *indeed* taken of the Faithfull in the *Lords Supper*.

* *Art.* 28. *relig.*
* *Doctr.* of the Sacraments.

I goe on to the *Sacramentall* actions, which are likewise *two*, answerable to the *parts* of this *Sacrament*, to wit, *Eating* of this *Bread*, and *Drinking* of this *Cup*.

First, we must *Eate* this *Bread*.

There is a fourefold *benefit* which wee receive by our bodily *Eating*; *Nourishment*, *Society*, *Delight*, and *Physicke*; You know there is a *Meale* for *Nourishment*, a *Feast* for *Society*, a *Banquet* for *Delight*, and a *Medicine* for *Physicke*. This fourefold *benefit* wee receive to our soules in a farre more *eminent* manner, by this *Sacramentall* Eating; and for this fourefold *benefits* sake, we must *taste* and *eate* this Sacrament, and we shall *find* it (if we *prepare* our selves aright before we *eate* it) to be through the *Grace of Christ*;

First,

tion may be understood, not in Imagination onely, and Apprehension of the minde, but a Reall Fruition to nourish the body and soule to eternall Life. Thus, that *Reverend* Author, and much more to the same purpose in that place.

With the same *wisedome* and *sobriety* the *Church of England* speakes of this great Mystery, shee does not (as the *Church of Rome* unjustly charges us) exclude *Christ* out of the *Sacrament*, and make it a *bare* signe, and *Figure* of his *body* and *blood*; shee indeed denyes their *Carnall* and *Corporeall* presence of *Christ* in the *Sacrament*, and acknowledges onely an *heavenly*, and *spirituall* presence, without any farther defining of the *manner* in particular.

But for the *Truth* of the thing it selfe shee *beleeves*, and *acknowledges* expressely, That to such as *rightly*, *worthily*, and *with Faith* receive the same, the *Bread* which we *breake*, is a partaking of the *body* of *Christ*, and likewise the *Cup* of blessing, is a partaking of the *Blood* of *Christ*,

in

in the * 28. *Article of Religion*, and more fully in the * *Catechisme*, The *body* and *blood* of *Christ*, are *verily* and *indeed* taken of the Faithfull in the *Lords Supper*.

* *Art.* 28. *relig.*
* *Doctr.* of the Sacraments.

I goe on to the *Sacramentall* actions, which are likewise *two*, answerable to the *parts* of this *Sacrament*, to wit, *Eating* of this *Bread*, and *Drinking* of this *Cup*.

First, we must *Eate* this *Bread*.

There is a fourefold *benefit* which wee receive by our bodily *Eating*; *Nourishment*, *Society*, *Delight*, and *Physicke*; You know there is a *Meale* for *Nourishment*, a *Feast* for *Society*, a *Banquet* for *Delight*, and a *Medicine* for *Physicke*. This fourefold *benefit* wee receive to our soules in a farre more *eminent* manner, by this *Sacramentall* Eating; and for this fourefold *benefits* sake, we must *taste* and *eate* this Sacrament, and we shall *find* it (if we *prepare* our selves aright before we *eate* it) to be through the *Grace of Christ*;

First,

First, *Cœlestis Refectio*, an Heavenly *Repast*, to nourish us up to *eternall Life*.

Secondly, *Sacrum Convivium*, a holy *Feast*, to mainetaine the mysticall society betwixt *Christ*, and his *members*, and to be a bond of *Love* and *Vnity* amongst Christians.

Thirdly, *Spirituale Epulum* * a spirituall *Banquet*, for *inward* and *unspeakeable* Delight.

* *Cal. lib. 4. Instit. c. 17. sect. 1.*

Fourthly and *lastly*, to be *Medicina animæ* (as * Saint *Ambrose* calls it, *i. e.* to them that are *rightly* prepared, and through the *grace of Christ*,) Soveraigne *Physicke* for the *Soule*.

* *Medicina enim spiritualis est, quæ cum reverentia degustata purificat sibi devotum. Ambr. tom. 5. Oper. in Epist. ad Cor. cap. 11.*

Secondly, wee must *Drinke* the Sacramentall *Cup*, as well as *Eate* the *Bread*: *For as oft as ye eate this Bread, and drinke this Cup too*, saith the Text. They are joyned together in the *Text*, and they may not be severed in our *Practice*. And that for these three *reasons*.

First, *propter Perfectionem Repræsentationis*, that in this *Sacrament*, there may be

a

a perfect *resemblance* and *representation* of Christs Passion on the *Crosse*, for there the *Blood* was severed from the *Body*, and therefore here to keepe the *resemblance* perfect, the *Wine* which resembles the *Blood*, must bee taken severally from the *Bread*, which resembles the *Body*.

Secondly, *propter Perfectionem Refectionis*, That the *Lords Supper* may bee *perfect* Nourishment to us. For as in *bodily* sustenance, *Meate* doth not *nourish* well without *Drinke*, a *Meale* cannot be perfect without *Meate* and *Drinke*: So is it likewise in this *spirituall* Refection, wee must *Eate*, and *Drinke* too, else no perfect *nourishment* to the *Soule*. *Utrumque enim est de perfectione hujus Sacramenti*, For both *Eating*, and *Drinking* too are required to the perfection of this *Sacrament*. So much *Aquinas* * himselfe, a prime *Schooleman* amongst the Papists, acknowledges in his *Comment* on my *Text*, and hee gives these two forenamed *reasons*, for his acknowledgement: So that by his owne confession, the *Church of Rome*, how-

* *Aquin. Com. in 1 Cor. 11. 26*

however ſhe may be more *indulgent* to her *Clergy*, yet ſhee is very *ſcanty* to the *People*, and halfes out to them but an *imperfect Sacrament*.

Thirdly, I will adde a *third* and *maine* reaſon for this *Sacramentall* Action, and that is *propter perfectionem Obedientiæ*, that our Obedience may be perfect; for you ſee we have Chriſts Command for both *drinking* the *Cup*, as well as *eating* the *Bread* not onely his *Practice*, as in adminiſtring it after *Supper*, but we have his *practice* and *command* too, for *ſub utraque ſpecie*, for the *Communion in both Kindes*, which makes *this* obligatory to us, though not the other (according to that excellent *rule* of Saint *Cyprian**) *quæ Chriſtus fecit, & docuit ſunt perpetuæ obſervationis*, what Chriſt both *did*, and alſo *taught*, or *commanded* muſt be perpetually *obſerved* in the *Church*.

* S. Cypr. lib. 2 ep. 3.

The boldneſſe therefore of the *Councell* of *Conſtance* was very great in declaring the adminiſtring of the *Communion in both Kindes*, to the People, to be no more obligatory to us, then the adminiſtring of it

after

after Supper, but their presumption is much more intolerable in establishing the *Romish halfe communion*, with a *non obstante in terminis*, to the *Institution* of Christ, as you may read in the 13. *Session* of that *Councell**.

* *Tom. 7. concil. Edit. Paris.*

I have done with the *Sacramentall* actions. *The third and last particular* in the first *generall* concernes the *circumstances* of these actions.

And the first *circumstance* is of *Time*, *As oft. Semel nascimur, sæpius vero alimur*, we are borne but once into the world, and so we receive *Baptisme* but once, which is the *Sacrament* of our *New-birth*, But we stand in need of often *Nourishment*, and therefore wee are *often* to receive the *Lords Supper*, which is the *Sacrament* of our *spirituall Nourishment*, and growth in Christ.

Accordingly, if wee looke into Church story, wee shall finde that the *first*, and *best* ages of the Church, and as many of the after ages as desired to conforme to those *first* and *best*, were all of them for *frequent* Communions.

* Acts 20.7.

In the *times* of the *Apostles*, we read of a *Communion* once every weeke, upon the *first Day* of the weeke, which is the *Lords Day*.

In the *times* next to the Apostles, Saint *Cyprian* * tells us of an *every-dayes* Communion. *Every day* the Christians lookt for *Death*, in those times of violent persecution, and therfore *every day* they would be provided of this *Viaticum*.

* *Eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus.* S. Cyp. de Orat. Dominica.

In Saint *Augustines* time, which was 400 yeares after Christ, some Churches communicated *every day*, some onely upon the *Saturday*, and the *Lords day*; others onely upon the *Lords day*, as we read in his 118. *Epistle*.

After that, Devotion decaying, the Communion was administred generally onely *thrice in the yeare*, at the three great Feasts, of *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, and *Christmas*; and of later yeares under *Pope Innocent the Third*, in the *Lateran Councell*, *propter iniquitatis abundantiam, refrigescente charitate multorum*, so * *Aquinas* himselfe renders the reason of it, By reason of the abounding

* *Aquin. Sum. par. 3. q. 80. Art. 10. ad quintum.*

abounding of *Iniquity*, the *Charity* and *Devotion* of many waxing cold in the *Roman Church*, the people were upon *this*, *bound* onely to receive *once* in the yeare, to wit, at *Easter*.

But the *Liturgy of the Church of England*, to reforme us neerer to the *Piety* of the Ancient Church of Christ, though it sets not downe a *generall Rule*, to bind every *particular Person*, to Communicate more then *Thrice* in the yeare, which was done no doubt upon most *prudent* Considerations, Because the variety of Cases, in regard of the *different* understandings, and imployments of particular persons, in regard of the *different* Capaciousnesse, and Receipt *of Places* and *Parishes*, and divers other Circumstances considerable, make the prescribing of a *certaine* Rule for *Particulars* in this kinde, fittest for private *advice* and *resolution* upon due preparation of every Communicant: Yet in the *Rubricke* after the Communion, a Communion is enjoyned *every Sunday* at the least, in *Cathedrall*, and *Colle-*

giate Churches, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary. And in the first Exhortation before the *Communion*, all the People are most pathetically *moved* and *exhorted* to frequent receiving.

And I would to God there were no need of such an *Exhortation*, but alas, it's too usuall for many to make excuses for absenting themselves from the *Lords Table*, as the unworthy guests in the *Gospell* did; I will briefly shew the *vanity* of these *Excuses*, and so passe over this circumstance.

*S Luke 14.

And I will go no farther for Evidence against them, than to the *Grounds* already laid. You have read that this *Blessed Sacrament* is *Heavenly Food*, for our Nourishment. A *Holy Feast*, to maintaine *Love*, and *Unity*, amongst Christians. *A Spirituall Banquet*, for Delight and *Soveraigne* Physicke for the Soule.

First, then an *unworthy guest* pleades multiplicity of *worldly* businesse, and therefore hee cannot come so *frequently* to the

Sacra-

Sacrament; But hee ſhould conſider that this *Sacrament* is *Heavenly Meate* for his Nouriſhment, and as *Meate hinders* not our *Buſineſſe*, ſo neither muſt our *Buſineſſe hinder* our *Meate* in the ſeaſons of it, whether for *Soule* or *Body*.

A *Second* is not in *charity* with his *Neighbour*, and therefore hee holds himſelfe excus'd, which is *Excuſatio accuſatione digna*, as *Salvian* ſpeakes in a like Caſe, an aggravation, no excuſe, thus to cover one ſinne with another. This man conſiders not, that the Communion is a *Holy Feaſt* inſtituted by our *Bleſſed Saviour* to mainetaine *Love* and *Amity* amongſt Chriſtians.

A *Third* alledges he findes no relliſh in this *Manna*, and this diſcourages him. But Oh! *taſte* and *ſee* how gracious the *Lord* is, prepare thy *Taſte* aright before thou commeſt, and thou ſhalt find this *bleſſed Sacrament* to be an *Heavenly Banquet* for Delight, ſuch Delight as is moſt *glorious*, and *unſpeakeable*; in compariſon where-

of

of all that is called *Delight* here below, is but meere *anity* and *vexation of spirit* *.

A *Fourth* and *last* pretends his *manifold sins*, the sense whereof deterres him from *often* approaches to this *Holy Table*.

But if he account *sinne* a disease indeed, and desire unfeignedly to be *cured*, why does he *neglect* the *Remedy*? which is, by *Faith* and *Repentance* to *prepare* himselfe for this *blessed Sacrament*. The whole have no need of the *Physitian*, but the *sicke*, saith our *blessed Saviour* *. This man considers not the *vertue* of this *Sacrament*, in such as are so prepared; That through the *Grace of Christ*, it is with these preparations a *soveraigne* Physicke against all *Diseases* of the *Soule*.

The *second circumstance* is of the *Persons*, *Yee*. First, *Yee*, in the *plurall* number, for this *Holy Sacrament* is a *Communion*, and therefore may not bee received by *one* alone, as the *name* it selfe imports. A *Communion*, that is, a Common union of *Ministers* and *People* together. Thus much *Cassander*, one that *liv'd*, and *dy'd* in the

* *Hanc Dei gratiam recolens, qui de Sacro calice bibit, amplius sitit, & ad Deum vivum erigens desiderium, ita singulari fame illo uno appetitu teneturut deinceps fellea peccatorum horreat pocula, & omnis sapor delectamentorum carnalium sit ei quasi rancidum radensque palatum acutæ mordacitatis acetum.* S. Cypr. de Cœna Domini sect. 17.

* Mat. 9. 12.

the Communion of the *Roman Church*, acknowledges, That it cannot be properly call'd a Communion unlesse there be a *Plurality* of *Communicants*. *

*Communio proprie dici non potest, nisi plures participent &c. Cassā Consultat. de solitariis missis.

The *private Masses* therefore in the *Roman Church* where the *Priest* Communicates without the *People*, are rather *excommunications* of the *People*, then *Communions*, as *Goulartius* wittily calls them in his Notes upon Saint *Cyprians* Tract, on the *Lords Prayer*.*

Vid. Calvin. lib. 4 Instit. c. 18 § 7. Aditus missis privatis est patefactus, quæ Excomunicationem quandam magis referrent quam cōmunitatem illam à Domino institutam &c. Concil. Trident. Ses. 22. cap. 6.

I am not ignorāt that the *Councel* of *Trent** wishes that the *people* would cōmunicate alwayes with the *Priest*, and acknowledges it to be the more profitable for the peoples soules, but this *blanches* the matter only, but *mends* it not, the *private Masse* is a bitter *Almond* still for all the *blanching*, so long as the *people* are not injoyn'd to Communicate with the *Priest*: Nay, so long as the *Priest* is by that *Church* allowd, nay injoyn'd to *celebrate*, though without distribution to the *people*.

Ye again, that are *Members* of the *Church* by *Baptisme*. *Ye*, and *Ye* onely must eate this *Bread*, and drinke this *Cup*. For the *Grace* which we have by the *Holy Eucharist* doth not *begin*, but *continue* life. No man therefore receaveth this *Sacrament* before *Baptisme*, because no *dead* thing is capable of *nourishment*. That which *groweth* must first *live*, saith Reverend *Hooker* in his fifte *Booke* of *Ecclesiasticall* * *Policie*. *Besides* wee must first bee receav'd as *members* into *Christs Family*, before we may be admitted to his *Table*. The *Childrens bread* must not be given to *strangers*.

* 5 Lib Eccle. polit §.67. init.

But I hasten to the second *Generall*, and *main* part of my Text, which is the *Meaning of this service of the Holy Communion*, in the last words. *Yee doe shew forth the Lords death till hee come*. The principall *verbe* which beares the *waight* of this part of the *Text* is Καταγγέλλετε. Our *Translation* renders it most *fitly*, *Ye shew forth*, which expresseth the *latitude* of the word, and the *meaning* of the Sacrament more fully, then

Annuntiate

Annuntiate in the *Latine*, which properly is but a *verball* declaration.

Now in this *Sacrament* Christs death is shewne forth three *wayes* especially.

First, by way of *Representation*, and *Resemblance*; so *signes*, and *figures* of things doe shew forth the things that are *represented*, and *resembled* by them. 1

Secondly, by way of *Evidence*, and *Confirmation*; so the *Testators* seale set to a *Testament*, and his *delivery* of it as his *deed*, doth shew it to bee his *Will* and *Testament*. 2

Thirdly, and lastly, by way of *Commemoration*, or *memoriall*; so a feast appointed in remembrance of a Benefactor doth shew forth his *benefits* to us. Therefore *Beza* translates the *verbe* here, *Commemoratis*, yee Commemorate *Christs death*. Now as oft as wee eate this *Bread*, and drinke this *Cup*, wee doe all these wayes 3

shew forth the Lord's *death* both in the *end*, and *meaning* of the service, and wee ought to doe it in *obedience*, and *duty*, for so the *verbe* here used may be taken either *Indicatively*, *Ye* do, or *Imperatively*, *Doe yee*; or *Ye* ought to *doe*, and so I shall follow it.

1 *First*, Then we doe shew forth Christ's *death* in the Sacrament by way of *representation*, and *resemblance*, and that not *naked* without attendance, but solemnly accompany'd with the causes and effects of it: *Christ*, and *Christ Crucified* is here evidently set forth before our eyes. *

Neque tamen diffitemur quin ita nobis monstratur illic Christi immolatio ut crucis spectaculum pene ob oculos statuatur, qualiter in oculis Galatorum Christum fuisse crucifixum dicit Apostolum illis proposita crucis predicatio fuerat Calvin l. 4. Instit. c. 18 § 11

For first, The Ministers setting apart the *Bread* and *Wine* upon the *Holy Table*, and Consecrating them, represents God the Fathers *unspeakeable Love* to *mankind* in setting apart, and sending his *only begotten Son* into the *World* to dye for us, here's the prime *cause of his death.*

Againe, the *breaking* of the *Bread*, that resembles the *brusing* of our Saviours *body*, & the *Agonies* of his soule for our *iniquities*, and

and the *powring forth* of the *Wine*, and the *distribution* of the *Bread*; and *Wine* severally and apart, doth most aptly resemble the shedding of his most *precious bloud*, and the severing of it from his *Body* on the *Crosse*, wherein consisted the very *Passion*.

And lastly the *Effects*, and *Operations* of *Bread* and *VVine*, upon the *Bodies* of men they doe most Lively resemble the *Effects* and *Operations* of the *death* of *Christ*, upon the Soule.

To the sound and healthfull body, *Bread* satisfies *Hunger*, and strengthens *life*, And *Wine* makes glad the *heart* of *man*, saith the *Psalmist*.* But on the contrary to a foule, or feverish *body*, *wine* is turned into poyson, and there is nothing surfets the *body* more *suddenly*, nor more *dangerously* then *bread*, according to the *Aphorisme*, *Si quis febricitanti cibum dederit; quem sano exhibet, valenti Robur, ægrotanti morbus fit.* In like manner the

*Psa. 104.15

Hippo. Aphor. l.7. Aphor. 62

* 2 Cor. 2. 16 vid. S. Cypr de cœna Domini §. 7.

death of Christ applyed to the faithfull, and devout *soule*, satisfies his spirituall *hunger*, strengthens the *life* of *grace* in him, fills him with *joy* unspeakable, and most glorious. It is to him the savour of *life* unto *life*; but to the unbeleever, and impenitent, that wilfully perishes, It becomes the savour of *death* unto *death*. *

Let our soules goe along here and meditate of these, and the like *Analogies* in the time of receaving, *Hoc age*, doe this. And this is the first sence of shewing forth *Christs death* in the *Sacrament*.

2 In this *Sacrament* wee doe not onely make a *bare shew* of *Christs death* by way of *representation* and *resemblance*, but we shew it forth also by way of *evidence*, and *confirmation*. For this Sacramentall *Cup* is the New *Testament* in *Christs Bloud*, And all the *promises* in the Gospell which are the *Legacies* of the New *Testament*, and Benefits of *Christs death*, are in the right use of this Sacrament *conveyed*, and assur'd to us.

In

In this Sacrament *Christ* sets his *Seale* to his *Testament*, and delivers it *particularly* into every worthy *Communicants* hand, and every such *Communicant* receaves it to his *soules comfort* from God, as his *deed* and *gift*, and hereof hee may assure himselfe as verily as hee receaves the outward Elements of *Bread*, and *Wine*, to his bodily *nourishment*.

And though a fraile, and mortall man be the *Minister*, and *Instrument* to convey this *assurance* to you, yet what he doth herein, he doth it in the *Name of Christ*, by *Commission* from Christ, and in Christ's *stead*; So that it is Christ's *Act* and *deed*, and the *Assurance* is *Authentically*, and *Originally* from Him, who is *Invisibilis Sacerdos* the Invisible High Priest. In the 4. of *Saint Iohn*, wee read that *Christ* Baptized more then *Iohn*, though *Iesus* himselfe *Baptized not* (saith the Text) but only His *Disciples*. If therefore *Baptisme* be our Saviours *Act*, *In*, and *by* the Ministery of His *Disciples*, which He never administred by *Himselfe*, how much more is this

John 4. v. 1, 2.

this *Blessed Sacrament* His *Act* and *Deed*, by the hands of his Ministers, which He *Instituted*, *Consecrated*, and *Administred* Himselfe in His own person; And asmuch *Comfort*, and *Assurance* may Yee reape from it now by the hands of *Christs Ministers*; as if Ye should receive it from *Christ's* owne Blessed hands, as the *Disciples* did.

Onely (as yee desire to enjoy the *Comfort* of it) be carefull to observe *Theophylact's* Counsell, which he gives upon this very *Ground*, in his *Comment* on my *Text*, *Eo affectu debetis esse imbuti*, Yee ought to be so well *disposed* when yee come to *receive* the *Eucharist*, as yee your-selves thinke yee *should*, and *could* have beene, if with the Disciples yee had enjoy'd the *happy presence* of our *Saviour* at his *last Supper*, and had taken this *Blessed Sacrament* at the first Institution of it from our *Saviours* owne hands; Yee ought to aspire after it now that yee may bee affected with the same heavenly *Devotion*, and humble *Reverence*, with the same fervent Charity, and hearty thankefulnes toward

our

our *blessed Saviour*, considering it is the same *Holy Supper*, and no other, and the very same *Death* which wee now *shew forth*, and unto the *worlds end* as then, at the first *Institution*, and *Ordination* of it.

Thirdly and *lastly*, we doe in this *Sacrament* shew forth *Christs Death* by way of *Memoriall*, and *Commemoration*: *Do this in remembrance of Mee*, saith our *Saviour*,* And for this end mainly was this *Sacrament* instituted by our *blessed Saviour*, And from this main end of it, this *Sacrament* is, and hath been in all *Ages* of the *Church*, called by the name of the *Eucharist*; as being a *sacrifice* of *Praise* and *Thanksgiving* to God in *Remembrance* of our *Saviours Death* and *Passion*. And accordingly our *Church* exhorts, and practices in the *service* of the *Communion*.* *Above all things we must here give humble and heartie Thanks to God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the Redemption of the World, by the Death and Passion of our Saviour Christ,* 3

* 22. S. Luk 19.

* The last *Exhortation* before the Communion, and the first *Prayer* after the Communion.

 both

both God and Man, who did humble himselfe to the Death upon the Crosse for us miserable sinners. And to the end wee should always remember the exceeding great Love of our Master, and only Saviour thus dying for us; he hath instituted, and ordain'd these Holy Mysteries. To Him therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, Let us give as we are most bounden continuall Thanks.

And that this our *Thansgiving* may be *acceptable* to God, let us first conform ourselves to our *blessed Saviour* in his *Death* and *Passions*, let us *die* to sin, and *live* to Christ; Consider we therefore the *worke* we have in hand, and the *end* of our comming as often as wee come to Celebrate the *Holy Eucharist*. We come here to *Commemorate* the *Death* and *Passion* of our *Saviour* for our sins, and it would ill beseem us then to solemnize the *Funerals* of our *Lord* and *Master*, not having on our *mourning Garments*, without suitable *sorrow*, and *suffering* in our owne souls. Should we suffer *sin* to live in us, which

cost

coſt our Saviour his *Life*, and make that our *Delight* which cauſed his *Death*, and that at the very time when wee come to the *Holy Table* of the *Lord*, to ſhew forth his *Death* with a thankfull *Commemoration*: what elſe is this but to ſtand laughing under our *Saviour's Croſſe*, as it were, to make ourſelves merry with his *Agonies*, and to triumph prophanely in his *bitter ſufferings*? with the wicked Souldiers, it is to *crucifie* him afreſh, and to put him again to an open *ſhame*; In ſtead of an *honourable* and *gratefull* ſhewing forth of his *death*, This were to make ourſelves *guiltie* of his *death*, *Guiltie* of the *bodie* and *blood* of our *Lord*, as the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks.

Wherefore, that wee may ſhew forth the *Lord's Death* as wee ought; Let us firſt ſet up the *Croſſe* of *Chriſt* in our owne hearts, Let us *faſten* ourſelves to it, and *conforme* ourſelves there to the ſufferings of our *Head*; Let us willingly ſuffer *ſhame* and *ignominie*, in the due acknowledgment of our *ſins*, Let us ſuffer

pain in a true *sorrrw*, and *Compunction* of soule for them; Let the *Remembrance* of them be as *Thorns* in our *Temples*, and as a *Spear* at our very *hearts*. Let us so subdue, and chasten our *Flesh*, and Revenge our
* 2 Cor. 7. 11. selves upon Our selves (as the Scripture* speaks) by *severe* and *strict* Mortification, that the *Old Man* may *languish*, and *die* daily in us. And let us so *Compose* and *settle* our *Desires*, and *Affections*, even as men that are hanging upon the *Crosse* with our *Blessed Saviour*, and ready to depart this *World*, Let us make our *peace* with *God* and all the *World*. Let us wean our selves from the *Earth* which wee are leaving, and set our *Affections* on *Heaven*, and the *things above*, whither wee are going; Let us no longer make provision for the
* 13. Rom. 14. *Flesh* to fulfill it in the *Lusts* thereof*. But let us put on the *Lord Iesus Christ*, and thus shew forth the *Lords Death* till hee come, And at his Comming wee shall by his *Infinite Mercie Live* and *Raigne* with *Him* for ever in the *Kingdome* of his *Glorie*.

Thus

Thus you have the *Orthodox interpretation* of these words, the true and onely way of shewing forth *Christ's Death* in this *Sacrament* according to the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *England*, and of approv'd *Antiquitie*.

But the *Church* of *Rome* not content with this way doth in the *Councell* of *Trent*,* denounce an *Anathema* against all those that will acknowledge no other *sacrifice* in the *Eucharist*, then by way of *Remembrance* and *Commemoration* of that one onely true and proper *Sacrifice* of *Christ's Bodie* and *Bloud* offer'd upon the the *Altar* of his *Crosse* once for all. And therfore if you wil believe her, she wil tel you of a more excellent way of shewing forth *Christ's Death* in the *Sacrament*, to wit, by way of *Iteration*, or a new and daily *Oblation*, of the very Same naturall *Bodie* and *Blood* which was offer'd unto *Death* upon the *Crosse*, onely with this *Difference* in the Manner of the *Offering*, That *Christ's Bodie* upon the *Crosse* was offer'd

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 22. Can. 3.

fer'd after a *bloodie*, but here upon their Altars after an *unbloody* Manner. And from this *Fountaine* of Corrupt *Doctrine*, there flow divers *streames* of very dangerous *Errours*; I'le instance but in two for our present purpose.

First, upon this Ground they define this *Sacrifice* in the *Eucharist*, to be a *true*, *proper*, and *propitiatorie* Sacrifice, to be every way equall with the *Sacrifice* of *Christ* upon the *Crosse*, and their *Altars* to be as true and proper *Altars*; which doubtlesse is a very high derogation from *Christ* and his *Sacrifice*, let them *mince* and *excuse* it the best they can.

Secondly, From hence they teach most perilously, that the same *Adoration* which is due to *Christ*, is due to this *Sacrament*. And certainly, to give that *Adoration* which is due to *Christ* to any of the *Creatures*, can amount to no lesse then *Idolatry*; Neither will *Bellarmine's* evasion, which hee uses, * acquit the *Papists* of *Idolatrie* herein,

* Lib. 4 de Euchar. cap 29. §. Sed hæc mera calumnia est, &c.

herein, though hee pleads *not Guiltie*, because they hold not the Consecrated *Bread* and *Wine* to be any longer *Bread* and *Wine*, but to be *transubstantiated* into the very naturall *bodie* and *blood* of *Christ*; so he pleads, they worship not the *bread* but *Christ* alone. But a false perswasion (as we have proved this to be in the *former part* of the Sermon) hath not the *power* either to *nullifie* a *sin*, or to alter the *species* of it, either to make a *sin* no *sin*, or to be any other then it is in the *kind* of it. The most charitable *Construction* that can be made in this *Case* is, That perhaps to Men so perswaded, as some of the *Romanists* are, their *Adoration* of the *Sacrament*, is not in them *wilfull Idolatrie*, yet in it self *Idolatrie* still for all their *perswasion*. However for our selves, that by the infinite *blessing* of *God* to us are better *taught* and *perswaded*, for us I say not to *renounce* and *detest* this Abomination of the *Popish Adoration* of the *Sacrament* would be most wilfull *Idolatrie*, without the least *cloak* for our *sin*.

For

For mine owne part, *therefore*, as becomes a true *Protestant* of the *Reformed Church* of *England*, I doe here solemnly protest against all *Popish Errours*, and in speciall against the *manifold* and *dangerous errours* in the *Doctrine* and *Practice* of the *Popish Masse*, against their pretended *Oblation* of the very naturall *bodie* and *bloud* of *Christ*, against their *Propitiatorie sacrifice* in that intended *Oblation*, and theirs (or any other sort of men their) true & proper Altars, and against their *Idolatrous Adoration* of the *Sacrament*, and acknowledge onely *one true* and *proper Sacrifice* and *Altar*, that is, the *Sacrifice* of *Christ* himself offer'd uppon the *Altar* of the *Crosse* once for all.

And give me leave here also solemnly to professe my *Opinion* concerning the *Lord's day*, and the *sanctification* of it.

I hold that according to God's holy *will* and *pleasure* the *Lord's day* ought to be celebrated both in *Pablike* and in *Private*, in the *Church* and out of the *Church*,

in

in the *Forenoon* and in the *Afternoon*, by hearing the Word of God *read* and *taught* by *Publike Prayer* and *Admmiſtration* of the *Sacraments*, by holy *Meditations*, *Private Prayer*, *Reading* and *calling* to *Mind* what we have *read* or *heard*, by work's of *Charitie* to our Neighbour and the like.

And I hold it to be our *Dutie* in ſpeciall that are *God's Miniſters* to *teach*, *exhort*, and *incourage* the *People* by all means, to ſuch a *ſanctification* of the *Lord's day*. And for mine owne part, I heartily honour a *conſcientious man*, who hath a Carefull *Regard* to yield *Obedience* to all Gods *Commandements* (as far as humane *frailtie* will permit) I honour ſuch a man the more, the more ſtrict hee is in a Religious *Obſervation* of the *Lord's day*.

And further I hold that this great *Holyday* which we Chriſtians now *celebrate* upon the firſt day of the Week though the Scripture, and ſo the Proper name of it be the *Lord's Day*, yet in regard of the due *ſanctification*

fication of it, in that it ought no lesse to be kept holy for the *Exercise* of the works of *Pietie* and *Charitie* in it, then the *Iewish* Sabbath; in this regard by way of *Allusion*, it is, and may be fitly call'd a *Sabbath*, and the Christian *Sabbath*.

And now to come to the *End* of my Comming *hither* at this time. The *Right Honourable*, the *Lords Spirituall* and *Temporall* in the high and Honourable Court of *Parliament* now assembled, by an *Order* bearing date the twelfth of *March* last, have injoyn'd mee to make a *Sermon* in this *Place*, upon this *day*, and in my *Sermon* to make a *confession* of my *errour* in *Licensing* and *approving* of two Books made by Doctor *Pocklington*, the one called *Altare Christianum*, the other *Sunday no Sabbath*, which Books, by their *Lordships* Censure, are justly commanded to bee burn'd.

And here that I may give the fuller satisfaction, I have receiv'd from my *Lord Bishop*

of

of Lincolne, a Copy of ſome mayn *erroneous* and *offenſive paſſages* in the ſaid two *Books*, and the places pointed out in the Margin; upon moſt whereof, their Lordſhips proceeded in their juſt *Cenſure* and *Condemnation* of thoſe Books, and all which I am by order from their Lordſhips here to *diſapprove*, as I willingly doe all theſe *paſſages* following.

The Assertions of ALTARE CHRISTIANVM, disapproved by Doctor *Bray*, the Licencer of that Book.

At Saint *Margarets* in *Westminster*, the eleventh of *Aprill*, 1641.

1.

Preface. THe *verie* Title *is offensive, because there is no* Christian Altar *but the* Crosse *of* Christ.

2.

Pag. 4. *He saith in scorn, and detestation of* Lectures,

ctures, *that* Master Cotton *was never* Parson, Vicar, *nor* Curate, *but* Lecturer *of* Boston, *which is false, for he was always* Vicar *of that place, and no* Lecturer.

3.

When he proves out of Saint Ambrose, de Sacramentis, lib.4.cap.3. *That the* Christians *were more ancient then the* Iews; *To fetch in the Antiquitie of his* Christian Altar, *he leaves out* Saint Ambrose *his qualification*: Sed nos in prædestinatione, illi in nomine; *That* Christians *were first in* Gods Predestination, *but not in* Compellation. *Which is not fairly done; And forgets that* Pag.32. *he meant to say. That* Christianitie *began but in the* Raigne *of* Tiberius.

4.

Hee falsly interprets that place of the 1 Cor.9.13. *of the* Priests *in the new* Testament, *which are to live by the* Altar: *which is spoken clearly of the* Leviticall *Priest, that cuts up, and divides the* Legall Sacrifices. Pag.6.

5. *He*

5.

Pag 9. *He saith, That* Christians *are in a miserable case, that think they can offer as good, and effectuall spirituall* Sacrifices *to* God, *as the* Priest. *Which is false and* Popish, *for all true* Christians *are* Priests *in regard of most spirituall* Sacrifices. *And he confesseth it himselfe.* Pag.127.

6.

Pag.14.15. *He teacheth falsly, that in the* Christian Church *there are materiall, and proper; and not* Metaphoricall Altars *only.*

7.

Pag 28. *He saith, that close and exalted* Pews *are prophane, and were detested by the* Church *of* God. *Which is but his foolish and fond conceit. And expounds that place of* Heb.13.10. Wee have an Altar, *of the* Lords Table: *which place is not to be so interpreted literally, but of* Christ *himself, as hee confesseth in the next* Page.

8 *He*

8.

He saith, we have true, reall, earthly, and Pag. 9. & 72.
materiall Altars. *VVhich is false.*

9.

Hee quotes a passage out of the Letter, Pag 30.
which is not there, but in Bishop Iewels
works: to prove there were no materiall
Churches *in the* Primitive *times. VVhich is*
but a base and unworthy dealing, and great
Arrogancie for a private man to confute a
booke, recommended by authoritie to all the
Churches *of* England, *and to say, it main-*
tains a falshood. Pag. 34.

10.

He saith, that we were miserable, if the now Pag. 50.
Archbishop *of* Canterbury *could not derive*
his Succession *from* S. Austin (*meaning* Au-
stin *the* Monk) Austin *from* Gregory, *and*
Gregory *from* S. Peter. *And a little before he*
saith, that if in Cathedrall Churches *there*
were no materiall Chaires *for* Bishops *to be*
Inthronized, there were no Succession *in*
Faith

Faith and Doctrine from the Apostles. *Which is both false, aud foolish.*

11.

Pag 65. *He broacheth two points of* Popery, *not maintained by the* Church *of* England, *First, That nothing in* Baptisme *is rightly done, unlesse we adde thereunto the signe of the* Cross. *Secondly, that men are not full* Christians *unlesse they be* Confirmed *by the* Bishop; *VVhich is* Popish *and* erroneous.

12.

Pag 71. *He scandalizeth our* Church *as having* Lecturers, *which never take Orders: and falsly quotes the* Letter, *for that which speaks not a word* Pro *or* Con. *in that Matter.*

13.

Pag. 75. 76, & 174 *Hee wrests* Saint Cyprian *and all Antiquitie to say, that where there is no* Altar, *there is no* Eucharist, *or* Communion. *VVhich in it self is altogether untrue.*

14. He

14.

Hee cals his Altar *the* Holy *of* Holyes, *which smels of* Iudaisme. Pag. 83.

15.

He boldly corrects the Rubrick, *that appoints the* Communion Table *to stand in the* Chancell, *or bodie of the* Church. *And denies a power to the* Ordinary *to place it in the body of the* Church. *VVhich is a high offence against the* Rubrick, *and the* Act *of* Parliament *that confirmes the same.* Pag. 86.

16.

Hee saith, that Bishop Iewels *works against* Harding *differ from the* Articles, *and* Canons *of our* Church. *Which is scandalous, especially when it is not shewed wherein.* Pag. 89.

17.

Those VVriters, who attest the truth of the Reformed Religion, *this man averres to be called by* Illyricus *the VVitnesses of the truth, with reproach of truth, and of* Christian Pag. 114.

Religion. *VVhich is neare unto blasphemie. And in the same place*, Iohn Fox *his* Calendar, *or an* Extract *thereof is said to be full of* Traitours, Murtherers, Rebels, *and* Heretics; *And no better* Saints, *then* Penry, Hacket, *and* Legat. *VVhich is a base and unworthy expression. And whose* Martyrs *hee points at, you may see*, Pag.135.

18.

Pag.120 121. & 169. *He saith, the* Bishop *of* Lincolne *did order the setting of the* Lords Table *Altarwise. Which that* Bishop *utterly denies.*

19.

Pag.136. *He saith untruly, that if there be no* Christian Altar *in our* Church (*as there is none in our* Liturgie *or* Canons) *wee have neither* Priest, *nor* Deacon *in our* Church: *no* Liturgie, *nor* Act *of* Parliament *that confirmes it. VVhich is a wilde and inconsequent Assertion.*

20.

Pag 162.163. *Our* Saviours *institution (saith he) of the* Sa-

Sacrament *of the* Lords Supper, *at a* Table, *doth not binde us to the name of a* Table. *VVhich is a bold Assertion: though not so bold as that which followeth. That* Saint Paul *crossed the order in that* Sacrament *used by* Christ. *Which tends to blasphemy, if we remember by what* Spirit Saint *Paul was guided.*

21.

He saith boldly, that howsoever our Saviour *calls it a* Table, Luke 22.21. *Yet was it rather a floore wherein he instituted the* Supper. Pag.165.166.

22.

Hee saith, Tithes *cannot be alienated from* Spirituall persons. *Which is against our* Laws, *and such* Acts *of* Parliament *as have made them* Lay Fees. Pag.171.

23.

Lecturers (saith hee) *set up in good* Towns, *be but a dull device of a foggie brain and willing blunderer, which light upon it in a Mist. VVhich is an expression of a dull and irreligious brain.* Pag.172.

24.

Pag 178. *He saith blasphemously, that the holy* Scripture, *the holy* Sacraments, *the Articles of our* Creed, *and* Petitions *of the* Lord's Prayer, *have no* Rationes cogentes *or forcible inducement, to cause men to assent unto them, although they are immediatly grounded upon divine Authority, which at the first glance captivates the understanding of all true believers. And in his* 190 Page *he saith, that all* Canons *made in* Convocations *are to be obeyed, though they yield no reason at all to enforce their obedience. Which kind of* Doctrine *hath of late done our* Church *no good.*

Asser-

Assertions out of *SVNDAY NO SABBATH*; disapproved by Doctor *Bray*, at S. *Margarets* in *Westminster*, the eleventh of *Aprill*, 1641.

1.

HE saith, that Saint Paul *preaching till Midnight, in a roome where men did eat and drink, was out of order: Which is much boldnesse.* Pag. 3.

2.

He saith, Knox *and* Whittingham *were the first that called the* Lords Day, *the* Sabbath Day. *Which is false. For it is called the* Sabbath Day, *and our* Sabbath, *under King* [a] Henry the Eighth, *King* [b] Edward, [c] *Queene* Mary: *and* [d] *Queene* Elisabet, *in Writings printed and set forth by publique Authority under all these* Princes. Pag. 6.

a Necessary Doctrine, 1537.
b K. *Edwards* Catechisme, joyned to the Articles, 1553.
c Profitable & necessary Doctrine by Bishop *Bonner*.
d Homily of place and time of Prayer.

3 *He*

3.

Pag.19. *He saith, the name of* Sabbath Day *is held up by some in our* Church, *as the great* Diana *of the* Ephesians, *that stalking behind it, they may shoot against the* Service *appointed for the* Lords Day. *Not being able to resolve, whether the sin be greater to bowle, shoot, or dance on their* Sabbath, *then to commit* Murther: *or the father to cut the throat of his own* Child. *Which is a harsh expression, and scandalous to our* Church.

4.

Pag 28.29. *He calls an afternoon* Sermon *on the* Lord's Day, *a fruitless and disobedient exercise of their afternoon talent, springing from the wilfull conceitedness of those that affect it. And that wee are not bound to imitate either* Saint Peters *or* Saint Basils *example in preaching in an afternoon, nor* Saint Pauls *in preaching in an upper Chamber. Which as we are not bound to imitate, so are we not bound to the Contrary. So that these expressions had bin better spared.*

5 He

5.

He makes strange interpretations of the Greek *text, to serve his own turn, and the new-fangledness of the times. As pressing* Saint Pauls διελέγετο (*which is to dispute* Dialectically) *to a* Catechizing *by question & answer only. And* ὁμιλήσας (*which signifies nothing else, but to make a speech or hold discourse*) *to* Saint Pauls *reading of a* Homily, *penned for him, either by all the* Apostles, *or by* Saint Peter. *As though* Saint Paul (*filled as he was with the* Holy Ghost, *and bred up at the feet of* Gamaliel) *could not have held a discourse in a private Family at* Troas, *but he must have read it out of a Book. And in imitation hereof, he would have all* Bishops *likewise to read* Homilies *to the people*, pag.31. *And concludes reading to be the most powerful kind of preaching, to perfect the men of* God, *and to make them* Martyrs, pag.32. Pag.29.30.

6.

He makes all such as omit the Letany *on the* Lord's Day, (*by which he saith the* English Pag.35.36.

lish Nation *was converted*) *all such as expound the* Scripture *otherwise then out of the ancient* Fathers: *all such as use long Prayers before* Sermons, *or often repeat* Lord, Lord: *and such as speake against* pastimes *on the* Lord's Day, *breakers of the* Sabbath.

7.

Pag. 46. *He saith, that if we do not only* Bend, *or* Bow *our body to his blessed* Board *or holy* Altar, *but fall flat on our faces before his footstool so soon as ever we approach in sight thereof: the* Patriarchs, Apostles, *and* blessed Martyrs *would be glad to see their* Lord *so honoured. Which he saith without any* Law, Rubrick, *or* Canon *of the* Church.

And now in all humble *Obedience* to so high *Authoritie*, and in *Conformitie* to their Lordships *just Censure* of these *Books*, and of *me* to this publike *acknowledgment*, I doe here ingenuously *confesse* my hearty *sorrow* for that all these erroneous and offensive *passages* have slipt mee and pass't my hand, I acknowledge that I have too much

much rely'd upon the ſeniority of the *Authour*, who was an *ancient Divine* in the *Vniverſitie*, and had been *President* of two *Colledges* ſucceſſively when I was firſt admitted *there*; upon which *Conſiderations* I took not that due *Care* and *Caution* in the *peruſal* and *licenſing* of theſe Books which I ought to have taken in a matter of ſo great *importance*. And therefore I do here *ſincerely* and *ſorrowfully* before many *Honourable Witneſſes* acknowledge my great *Errour* and *Offence* in the licenſing of theſe two Books, and doe alſo in all *humility*, taking the former *paſſages* to conſideration, acknowledge the *juſtneſſe* of their *Lordſhips Cenſure* of thoſe *Books*, and of *me* to this *diſapproving* of the ſame.

And what other *Books* of like *Nature* or upon like *Conſiderations*, or rather for want of *Conſideration*, may have paſs'd my *hand*. Give me leave here alſo to *profeſſe* my *hearty ſorrow* for my *Errour* in paſſing any of them.

And so I humbly desire you, to conceive of *me* as I am by Gods Grace, and desire ever to be, an *Enemy* both to *Superstition* & *Prophanes*, a hater of *Idolatry*, and an honourer of *Piety* and *Devotion*, especially practised on the *Lord's Day*. In sum, a dutifull Sonne of the *Reformed Church* of *Christ*, here in *England*, by *Law* establish't, to the which I shall by *Gods Grace* with all due *Care* and *Circumspection* conforme my self; and which God of his *infinite mercy* long preserve.

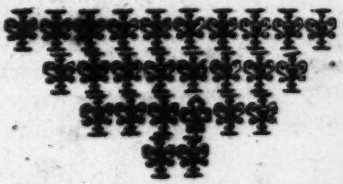
I conclude, most humbly beseeching God to forgive us all our *oversights* and *Errours*, and to give us all of his *Grace* that wee may sincerely follow those things that make for the advancement of *Truth* and *Peace*, and the edifying of our selves in *Faith* and *Love*, that we may walke in the *good old way* without *Innovations*, carefully avoiding all *Extreams*, without turning *aside* either to the *right hand* or the *left*, that so in the end wee may finde rest to our *souls*, which GOD grant, &c.

FINIS.

9

ENGLANDS GLORY IN HER ROYALL KING, AND HONORABLE Assembly in the high Court of Parliament, above her former usurped Lordly Bishops Synod.

With a discourse betwixt Master *Iohn Calvin*, and a Prelaticall Bishop, whereunto is added the Bishop of *Canterburies* Dreame.



Printed in the Yeare, 1641.

ENGLAND'S GLORY

IN

HER ROYAL KING,

AND HONORABLE

Assembly in the high Court of

Parliament, above her former

assumed Lordly Bishops Synod.

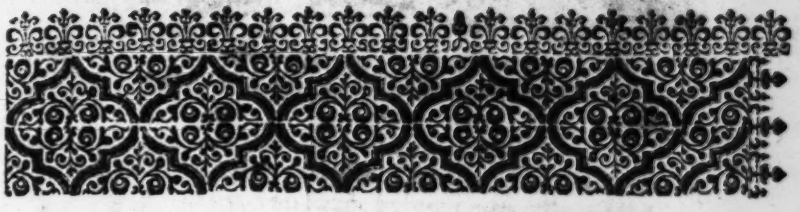
With a discourse serving Master

John Calvin, and a Presbyterian Bishop,

wherein is added the Bishops

Canter-bury Dreame.

Printed in the Yeare, 1641.



The Contrariety betweene Christs Apostles and Lordly Prelates.

1. *THe Apostles of Christ were without silver and gold, but the Prelates have both.*

2. *The Apostles were poore, yet made many rich; but Lordly Prelates are rich, yet make many poore.*

3. *The Apostles suffered for Christs sake; but Lordly Prelates persecute others for Christs sake.*

4. *The Apostles suffered hunger and thirst; but Lordly Prelates eate and drinke alwayes of the best.*

5. *The Apostles were called from the receit of custome; but Lordly Prelates intrude themselves into such offices.*

6. *Christs Apostles were all equall; but Lordly Bishops Lordit one over another.*

7. *The Apostles preached daily, Lord Prelates preach seldome.*

8. *The Apostles preached both morning and evening on the Sabbath day; but Lordly Prelates prohibit it as unlawfull to preach in the after noone.*

9. *The Apostles had no quadrangular Caps for their round pates, nor Miters, Rochets, Surplesses, &c. no Altars, Tapers, Crucifixes, &c. no seales of Armes, titles of your Grace, &c. But our Lordly Prelates claime these and a thousand more, which the Apostles of Christ never had.*

A Bishop, or no Bishop.

Calvin.

WEll overtaken Sir, I shall be glad of your company, you seeme by your coat to be a Minister; I pray you what is your calling.

Bishop. I have beene a Priest this sixteene yeares, and the last ordination I was made a Bishop.

Calvin. What? a Lord Bishop.

Bishop. Yes, a Lord Bishop.

Calv. Why would you enter into such an order; have you any warrant for your calling? No, let me tell you, you Lordly Bishops and Prelates are but scarbudges set up by the Devill, to bleare the eyes of the ignorant; yee are unworthy to bee reckoned amongst the flockes, because yee have perverted Gods order, and made such a bottomelesse pit, that a man cannot discerne any remnant of that which our Lord Jesus Christ had ordained among the faithfull.

Bish. Hath not the Church beene governed by Lord Bishops ever since the Apostles time, why then doe you speake against that holy Order?

Calv. These horned beasts of the Popedome have still usurped the title of Prelates, and Bishops, and will needs be worshipped, under pretence of Church-government; but it is a starke lye, they are not set up by God, but have thrust themselves into this Order.

Bish. The calling is lawfull for the government of the Church.

Calv. You have no sure ground for that, I am sure it is said in the Word of God, that no man ought to take authority upon him in the Church, *Hebr.* 5. Christ ordained no dumbe Priest in the Church, nor such as vaunt themselves in their gewgawes: Hee meant not to play a pageant, that men should disguise themselves; hee intended not that men should mocke at God by Murlimewes, and making of Crucifixes, and blessing of Altars: it is Satan that hath thrust in these defilements into the Church.

Bish. I never read since the Gospel was preached in our Land, that our Church hath beene without Bishops to governe it.

Calv. Whence came Popery and all the filthy puddle, but from an inward plague and impostume bred in the bowels of the Church; but how many poore soules have been annoyed and corrupted with the stench of it.

Bish. Why doe you so argue against the holy Fathers of the Church.

Calv. The Lordly Bishops and Prelates are farre from being holy Fathers of the Church, who whilst they thinke themselves to match the Angels in holinesse, yet nevertheless doe shake off the yoake of God, and like a sort of mad beasts trample his Word under their feet.

Bish. Have not Bishops beene alwayes accounted by the Fathers to be the Vicars of Christ.

Calv. Indeed many Lordly Bishops have proudly usurped to be called the Vicars of Christ, who have beene more ignorant then Asses, yet have assumed to themselves to be the lawfull Governours of the Church; but the true effectuall preaching of the Gospel doth not consist in windy eloquence, but in the celestiall power of the Spirit; as *Paul* saith, 1 *Cor.* 2. 1. & 4.

Bish. Bishops are the successours of the Apostles, and therefore lawfully called to their order.

Calv. Are they the successours of the Apostles, who have no more care of the Doctrine of the Gospel then Bawds, or the priests of *Bacchus* and *Venus*; with what face dare you stand to maintaine your order: You were ordained before to preach the Gospel, as your selfe confessed even now, are you not ashamed to bewray your owne impudencie. It is enough to overthrow your fantasticall Hierarchy, if you consider that no man can be a successour of the Apostles, but he which serveth Christ by preaching of the Gospel as the Apostles did. They are all degenerate and counterfeit sacrificers, which doe not apply the office of teaching.

Bish. God committed the authority of the Government of the Church to the Levites in the Law, and the same is committed now to the Bishops under the Gospel.

Calv. Should it become the godly to deny Christ to obey them: Christ forbids such authority in the Church as to remove

move the Shepheards, and make them Lordly Prelates, and take them off from their Flockes.

Bish. Do not Bishops preach? therfore they are then Shepheards still.

Calv. But they challenge to themselves more then titles of Shepheards, by which their Lordly government, they have not so much as title of a calling, for the whole order of the Church was overthrowne, that they might lift up themselves into this tyranny.

Bish. We do glorifie Christ by the government of the Church, without which there would be great disorder, and many strange Heresies and schismes arise in the Church.

Calv. You should then shew forth your heavenly Doctrine, and not become idle bellies, as the lordly Prelates use to doe boasting themselves to be the chiefe of the people, is this a title to glory in? Christ acknowledges none of these to be Pastors. The same want is at this day in Popery, which yet are replenished with Pasterall titles, great is that sinke of lewd company in the world, which under this name doe devoure the people, which though they be dumbe dogges, yet are not ashamed arrogantly to brag of their Hyerarchy: But the Word of Christ saith, that there are no Pastors, where they doe not labour, and that those sheepe are wandring, and dispersed, which are not gathered together in the fold of God, by the Doctrine of the Gospel.

Bish. Me thinkes you are very bitter against us, to speak so reproachfull of our Order.

Calv. Indeed, besides you, there is many dainty men at this day, who cannot abide to heare any thing spoken sharply against the Popish clergie; but doth not *Christ* denounce a vengeance against such vipers, *Matth.* 23. 33.

Bish. Had not *Judas* a Bishoprick, as the rest of the Apostles had, who being dead, the rest did chuse another to succeed him, as it is, *Act.* 1. 20.

Calv. *Peter* did there see it necessary at that time, being led to it by God, to make an Apostle in the roome of *Judas*, to be a witnesse of the Resurrection. And moreover, the Apostleship was not conferr'd on any but such as preached the Gospel, here was required such a witnesse as saw the Lord after his Resurrection, and to be a preacher and witnesse of the Resurrection.

Bish. We have a charge given to Bishops or overseers by S. *Paul*, to be carefull to looke to the Flocke, which order is approved of, as it is, *Acts* 20. 28.

Calv. Concerning the word Over-seer or Bishop, here wee must briefly note thus much, that Saint *Paul* calleth all the elders of *Ephesus* by

by this name, as well one as other, whence we gather, that according to the use of the Scripture, Bishops differ nothing from Elders, but that it came to passe through vice and corruption, that those who were chiefe in every citie, began to be called Bishops. I call it corruption, to wrest the names of the Scripture unto their custome, and change the tongue of the Holy Ghost.

Bish. Wee deny that custome of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Popish and tyrannicall raigne, I plead onely for such as are in our Churches, even Vicars of Christ, set over the Church to keep it in government.

Calv. The Pope himselfe can say as much, what can be a fairer shew then the Pope his titles, wherein he doth not expresse himselfe from his owne will to be taken for the adversary of Christ, but the Vicar of Christ, what can be more plausible then that solemne preface, *In the Name of the Lord, Amen*; notwithstanding wee know that whilst the hypocriticall Prelates of Satan doe thus pretend the truth, they corrupt it, and with a deadly corruption infect it.

Bish. But it is plaine, that they set up Idolatry and Superstition in their Churches, which is not allowed of by our Bishops.

Calv. It may appeare how rediculous our dumbe dogges are, when they are glorious in their masking attire, presumptuously usurping honour, and shall such Prelates boast themselves to be the successours of the Apostles.

Bish. Is it not a thing fit, that such as are thought meet shall be received into some degree of dignity above the rest.

Calv. There is no dignity of Prelate nor Bishop, but only to preach the Gospel, yet if a man would draw them to the Pulpit, to doe ehere duty, it lessoneth their Bishop-like dignity; but if they will bee true Bishops indeede, it must not be by their Lordly living, but their mouthes must be open to preach; and that not to put forth their owne dreames and fancies, but to be the true Messengers of God.

Bish. It is true, Bishops are to preach to the people, which if they doe, their dignity is lawfull, as all ancient records testifie, though they be made Lords.

Calv. It was a wicked thing, though it be old and ancient from the Pope and his Clergy, to take the title of a Bishop for one that had preheminence over other, and to have severall priests under him, this is to lessen the language of the Holy Ghost, which is a great sinne to alter or change any piece of the Holy Writ.

Bish. Doth not Saint *Paul* say, that to desire the Office of a Bishop is a good worke?

Calv.

Calv. Saint *Paul* doth not meane a Bishop with his palfrey standing up like an Idoll, but these words, Shepheard, Minister, Bishop, Elder, are in holy Writ taken for all one; that is to say, for such as are called in the Church of God, to teach the people, and to be Watchmen over the Flock, to shew that it is not an honour of idlenesse: And to be called to it he must not play the idoll, but know that hee is sent to goe about the saving of soules, and therefore he must give himselfe to it, and take paines about it.

Bish. I thinke there is no Bishop amongst us, but he findes some employment to doe the Churh or Common-wealsh good, although hee doe not preach so often as other Ministers doe.

Calv. But a true Bishop is a faithfull Pastour to his Flocke over which he is set, he labours in the office of preaching, and to be watchfull, wise, and modest. It is not an office for a negligent man, it is not for a doe nothing that this office is ordained. When the Papists would make a Bishop, after they have made him a Priest (as they terme it) after that they have greased his fingers, and made him a great shaven crowne and have put a Miter on his head with two hornes, and a crooked staffe in his hand, and a faire ring upon his finger, behold this pretty fellow clad in a fooles attire to play the part of a Popish Bishop.

Bish. When he is consecrated they give him his charge.

Calv. Oh, truth it is, that the Popish Bishops are not without their charges, for it is their offices to dedicate Churches, to consecrate Altars, to make holy creame, to give orders, to make all such foolish trifles, this is it wherein the Popish Bishops imploy themselves: But the office of a Bishop is not warrantable so to be spent, it is not an idle office, it is an excellent worke and a travell, it is not a worke for sleepers.

Bish. What lawfull customes have you read of, that have beene used in the ancient Church concerning the offices in the Church?

Calv. There were Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Beleevers, and Cethecumein, as S. *Jerome* saith in *Esa. c.* 61.

Bish. What was the office of the Bishop then?

Calv. The Bishops was not so above the rest in honour and dignity that he had a dominion over his fellowes: But what office the Councell had in the Senate, to propound of matters, to aske opinions, to goe before the other in counselling, admonishing and exhorting, and that by reason of the extremity of the times. for the same was a Priest, which was a Bishop, saith S. *Jerome*, *Epi. ad Tit.* 1. 9. and all the Pastors did execute amongst the people that office of teaching, exhorting and correcting which *Paul* appointed for the Bishops.

Bish.

Bish. There were also Arch Bishops and Patriarchs in the Primitive Churches.

Calv. These degrees were ordained in these darke times, that if any thing hapned in any Church that could not well be ended by a few, might be referred to a provinciall Synod; but you shall finde that those bishops meant to forge no forme of ruling the Church, differing from that which the Lord appointed by his word; but I pray your Lordship (for as you say you are a Lord Bishop) who chose you to bee a Bishop.

Bish. My Lords Grace hath knowne me a long time.

Calv. Is that sufficient? In the chusing of Bishops or Pastors, for as I told you before, they are all one, there should none be thrust in, but such as are accepted of all, and none thrust in to any people or congregation against their will; this the ancient Church enjoyed a long time, which was confirmed by *Leo, Epi.*90. *c.* 2.

Bish. In the councell at *Laodicea*, the councell of chusing Bishops was not left to the multitude.

Calv. It is true, because many could not have one meaning, and the uncertaine affections of the people did vary, therefore they used this remedy.

1. The Clerkes onely did chuse.

2. Whom they had chosen they presented to the Magistrate or to the Senate, or chiefe men of the people.

3. They receiving the election, if they thought it good, then confirmed it, if not, they did chuse one themselves.

4. The matter was moved to the multitude, not to binde them to their election, but to keepe them from disorder.

5. When the desires of the people were heard, then the Clergy did confirm him; so neither could the Clergy appoint whom they listed, nor were they bound to obey the foolish desires of the people, according to that of *Leo, Epist.* 87.

FINIS.

THE REPORT

Of the Bishop of *Canterburies* Dreame, for an advertisement to all proud Lordly, persecuting, unpreaching, oppressing, tyrannizing Prelates, who suppresse the Preaching and progresse of the Gospell.

IT is reported of his Arch-grace of Canterbury, *that when he was a poore Scholler in* Oxford, *hee dreamed, that he should be a Bishop, then Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *and a great persecuter of Gods Ministers and people,* (*which we see all verified*) *and that at last he sunke downe into Hell, whereupon he awaked, and then and since, oft related this dreame; enough to have terrified and awaked his* Lordship, *if true. Oh that a man had but a view of* Hell (saith Father Latimer in his Sermons) *he should see on one side of it, a row of unpreaching* Prelates *in their square Caps, I warrant you as farre, as betweene this and* Dover. *And no marvell since they have so hated, dispised, and blasphemed both the word of God, the true Preachers and lovers thereof, driving away, and silencing Gods faithfull Ministers, and setting up in their roomes and places,* Doct. Ignorance, Domine Drunkard, Sir William Wild-oates *that hunteth after Whores, and such also as can play dissembling Hypocrites, whereby the Devils empire of darknesse exceedingly flourisheth: lest faithfull Preaching should roote it out. But the* Churches *hope is, that God in his good time, will now in this happie* Parliament-time, *heare the prayers of the people of this* Land *every where put up: That the* Seas *of those* Lordly Prelates, Pope-successors, Tyrants, Persecuters *of Christ, &c. shall bee,* Nidos eorum ubique destruendos; *or else put to some better uses.*

FINIS.

THE REPORT

Of the Bishop of Canterbury's Dreams, for

an advertisement to all proud Lordly prelates,

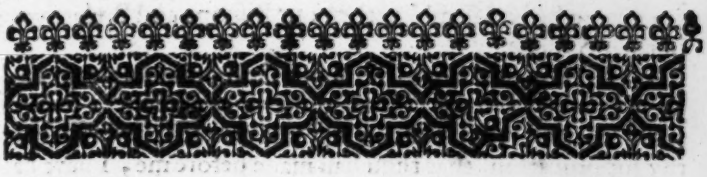
impropriating, appropriating, plundering Pastors, who

hinder the Preaching and progress of the Gospel.

I dreamed of an Archbishopric of Canterbury, that a learned Scholler in Oxford, dreamed that he should be a Bishop, then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and a great preferrer of Godly Ministers and people, (which were all preferred) and that at last he should come into Heaven, and there meet with some Lordly Prelates, and Lordly Lecturers, and unmatched Lordly Pluralists, and but a view of Hell (which hatter Lecturer in his Sermon he should see or one side of it) were changeling Prelates, in their figure Cats, Turnscrews, Gridirons, Pokers, and Tongs.

I dreamed both the word of God, the true Preachers and lovers thereof, driving away, and silencing Gods faithfull Ministers, and letting up in their roomes and places, Dr. Ignorance, Dr. Dumbe Dreamer, Sir William Wild oats, Sir Ralph Drivers, and such all a crew, affirming Hypocrites, whereby the Churches compare of darkness exceedingly flourisheth: let faithfull Preachers should vouch it out. But the Churches hope is that God will raise some willow wrathes keep in Parliament-time, lower the power of this Lordly Land every where put up: Thus Lordly Prelates, Pope-lucceiors, Tyrants, Pu-[illegible] Clergy, &c. Shall be, Nidos corum ubique de-[illegible]

FINIS.



ENGLANDS GLORY IN HER ROYALL King and Honourable Assembly in the high Court of Parliament, above her former Lordly Bishops Courts.

This will cause Princes to be blessed, if they make their power (in which they are as servants unto Gods Majesty) to inlarge his worship, service and Religion, if they doe all things not for vaine glory, but for charity, and with all, and before all, give God the due sacrifice of prayer, saith Saint Austin *in his 5. book and 24. chap. de Civitate Dei.*

The high and Honourable Assembly of Parliament are a a more holy Assembly then our Lordly Bishops and Prelates were in their Courts.

The Argument.

WHere the Name of God is magnified most, there is most holinesse; but the name of God is magnified more in that high and honourable Assembly of Parliament (by the Providence of God, and the care of our gracious King) now assembled then it was before by our Lordly Bishops and Prelates in their Synods, Courts, and Convocation; therefore it must needs appeare, *Argument.*

Conclusion. peare, that the high and honourable Assembly of Parliament are a more holy Assembly, then our Bishops and Prelate were in their Synods.

1. To prove, that where the Name God of is most magnified, there is most holinesse: God himselfe expresseth to *Salomon* when he appeared to him, saying, I have heard thy prayer and thy suppllication, that thou hast made before me, I have hallowed this house (which thou hast built) to put my name there for ever, and mine eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually 1 *Kings* 9. And Christ saith in his prayer to his Father, I have (saith he) manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world, *John* 17. 6.

2. To prove that the name of God is manifested more in that high and honourable assembly of Parliament, then it was before by the Lordly Bishops and Prelates. Which shall bee done by seven queries necessary to be taken notice of for the magnifying of the name of God in any assembly, Court, or Councell.

I. To see whether they be lawfully called to it, yea or no.

The Lordly Bishops, they have not their calling from God, therefore Christ reproves them saying, bee not called *Rabbi*, for one is your Doctor (to wit, Christ) and all yee are brethren, *Matth.* 23. 8. they ought not to be Lords over Gods heritage, but examples of meeknesse.

Of S. Paul They have their calling from the Pope, as the Cardinalls of some Cathedralls have, by which name (as I have heard to this day) they receive their pay.

The Pope hee hath his calling from the Devill, *Revel.* 17. wherefore say our Lordly Bishops then, that they are Lords, and will not come to God, but take their calling from the Pope, who is a rebell against God, *Jer.* 2. 29. & 3. neither have they called Assemblies to sit with them in their Courts, except onely such as will uphold them in their unjust proceedings.

Object. Is a Bishop then not a lawfull calling?

Answ. So farre as S. *Jerome* expresseth the office of a Bishop, it is lawfull and warrantable, if they follow *Moses* and *Aaron*, that is not to depart from the Tabernacle of the Lord, in praying, preaching, and reading the Scriptures, and not in Lordly predominacie.

In Levit. distinct. 36.

II. Whe-

II. Whether the Word of God be their guide, yea, or no?

The Prelates have not taken the Word of God for their guide, but the traditions of men and the divices of their own braine, and the corrupt customes of their owne Courts, which Christ reproveth, *Mark.* 7. 8. And Saint *Austin* saith, he that despiseth the truth, and presumeth to follow custome, either hee is envious to his brethren, and froward and injurious to those to whom the truth is revealed, or else he is unkind towards God, by whose inspiration the Congregation and Church is instructed.

In the 8. distinct Canon qui contempta.

Object. The Bishops doe not deny the Word of God, onely they would have those Ceremonies and customes of decencie (which have been a long time used in the Church) still to continue.

Answ. To plead for custome (as saith Saint *Gregory*) let them take heed, for the Lord saith, I am the way, the truth and the life, he saith not, I am the custome, but I am the truth. In processe of time an ungodly custome groweth strong, and is kept for a law, and graven Images are worshipped by command, *Wisd.* 14. 15.

To W. Aversane B.

III. Whether they lay aside all sinister respect.

The Prelates have combined together for themselves, and contrived for their owne sinister ends and usurpation, though to the great dispersion of divisions both in Church and State, moving of warre, and afflicting of the people of God, not respecting any thing more then there owne glory and sinister respects: Such the Lord complaines of (saying) Yee, who turne judgement into Wormewood, and leave off righteousnesse, I know your mighty sins, and how you afflict the just, and take bribes, & turn aside the poor, *Amos* 5. Yet by these means our Lordly Bishops and Prelates laboured to raise themselves to honour, of whom Saint *Gregory* saith (boldy,) that whosoever calleth himselfe an universall Priest, or desireth to bee called a Lordly Priest (in the pride of his heart) he is the forerunner of Antichrist.

In his Annotations on Matth. 23.

Object. The Bishops have not onely sought after their own sinister respects, but they have also laboured to bring the Church to a setled order of discipline also.

Answ. But they have not gone about to settle the Church

 in

in true order and discipline, according to Gods holy Word, but in such a way as they thought best to conferre that honour upon them (and those by respects) at which they aimed. But who can abide, saith *Erasmus*, that the Bishops should occupy an open tyranny against Christs Doctrine, and make Lawes for their owne advantage, measuring all things according to their gaine and glorious Majesties; they that ensnare the people with rites and ordinances devised for their owne profit, and thus fulfill their tyranny, doe not sit in the chaire of the Gospel, but in the chaire of *Simon Magus* and *Caiphas*.

In his 4. Book and 38. Epist.

IV. Whether they labour for the flourishing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The Prelates have laboured in the suppressing of the Gospel, and silencing of the faithfull Preachers thereof and have scattered the flocke, and driven them away: But behold, saith the Lord, I will visit unto you the evill of your doings, *Ier.* 23. 2. And Saint *Austin* saith, Take heed (saith hee, oh yee Pastors) lest the Lord say unto you, I have made you stewards over my houshold, and yee have given them no bread; thou that dost so, saith hee, art not a gatherer together, but a scatterer; thou art not a watch-man, but a hang-man, take him Jaylor, &c.

In his 42. Serm. to the Brethren in the Wilderness.

Object. Those whom the Bishops have silenced and punished, are such as have gone about to bring in some new Heresies, which the Church of *England* hath not allowed of.

Answ. I say with *Tertullian*, let them take heed unto whom the thing seemeth new, that in it selfe is old, it is not so much the novelty of the matter as the truth, that proveth what is Heresie; whatsoever savoureth against the truth, that is an Heresie, be the custome thereof never so old.

In his Book of Virgins.

V. Whether they set up and exalt the Kings Highnesse.

The Prelates have gone about to exalt themselves, and to make themselves great and mighty, that so like cruell tyrants they might raigne over the Land; nay, were they not ambitious of the Popes usurpation, like him to sit above the King, but (if they were) blessed be God) they are prevented. Let them now learne of *Davids* Priest and Levites, to carry themselves towards our *David* (whom God preserve unto us in honour

honour and length of dayes) not to decline from the Lawes of God and from the commandement of the King touching all things, 2 *Chron.* 8. And Saint *Chrysostome* saith, wee went in, saith hee, and humbly besought the most Christian Prince to call a counsell, but our Prelates would over-turne (if they could) both Counsell and Parliament, and desire no Court but of their owne choice: No, they had rather that our Royall King should hazard his Crowne, and the whole Kingdome ruinating, then themselves be ruled in the Courts of Justice. *In his Epist. to Innocentius.*

Object. But the Bishops should call an assembly concerning matters of Religion, because they are the Governours of the Church.

Answer. Herein would appeare their Lordly usurpation, so to object to be trayterous, thus to cast off the Kings Government. This usurpation in the raigne of King *Henry* the second, caused him to call a Parliament, where he reformed many abuses in the Clergie, although the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, like a perjured Papisticall traytor, resisted him. *Tho. Becket.*

VI. Whether they labour for settlement of peace.

The Prelates have much erred herein, and that not onely in their owne Courts to desturbe the Church, but have also much troubled the State, of which Saint *Paul* warneth *Timothy* to beware, 2 *Tim.* 2. But let such Prelates, (for all their fury and rage) remember that saying of *Pompeius*, It is adulterous, it is wicked (saith hee) thus to be ruled by their rashnesse, to the disorder of the Church of God.

Object. The Bishops doe not desire warre and troubles, their intent was to settle the Church to a conformity in peace, if they could have done it.

Answ. There can be no true peace to goe about to bring in Idolatry and superstition amongst the people of God. To this purpose saith *Constantine*, I have judged, saith hee, that this ought before all other things to be the end and endeavour and that to this I addresse my power and authority in government, that the unity of Faith, pure love, and agreement of religion towards Almighty God might be kept and maintained amongst all the congregations of the Church.

VII. Whether it be done in truth and sincerity.

Not as our Prelates, to worship God in dumbe shewes, and superstitious Ceremonies, but to worship him in spirit and in truth, *Iohn* 4. 24. *Epephanius* saith, My deare children, saith he, be ye mindfull that yee bring no Images into the Churches, but evermore carry God in your hearts; nay, suffer not such Images, no not in your houses, for it is not lawfull to leade a Christian man by his eyes, but rather by the study and exercise of his mind.

In his 3. book of Heresies.

Object. There is many good actions which the Bishops have done freely for the good of others in reliefe of the poore, &c.

In a Sermon of his preached before yong men.

Answ. Wee must make use of that goodnesse which wee can finde in them, as *Basilius Magnus* teacheth us by the comparison of Bees; When they (saith he) flye to the flowers, they doe not crop them, and carry them quite away, but sucking so much as shall suffice for their Honey making, take their leaves of the rest: Even so let us take from them so much as is sound and agreeable to truth, and commend it, and forsake the rest.

I. But that happy assembly in the High Court of Parliament, are such as are lawfully and warrantably assembled by the prayers of the whole Church, and having favour of all Gods people, praising God for the same, according to the custome of the Church in the Apostles time, *Act.* 46. and 47.

II. The honourable and worthy Assembly of Parliament; oh how clearely doth it appeare unto us, that all their consultations, and all their proceedings are grounded upon Gods Word. And as *Hezekiah* in the first yeare of his raigne, and in the first month opened the doores of the house of the Lord, and repaired them, and caused the filthinesse to be carried out of the holy place, as it is in 2 *Chron.* 29. 3. and 5. even so have that honourable Assembly of the Parliament, ever since their first meeting, opened the mouthes of the Ministers that were stopt, and those who before feared a catch-pole to trap them for preaching *Christ* sincerely, now speake boldly in the cause of God; and blessed be God they goe on still, continuing the the repairing of the House of God, and purging of the Church from idolatry, popery, superstition, and all filthinesse.

III. That holy Assembly of Parliament, who amongst us is so ignorant but may perceive that not any sinister end, or by-respect do they aime at, but for the magnifying of the name

of

of God, the propagation of the Gospel, the purity of Religion, and the just punishment of wickednesse and vice: Is there any scandalous person in the Realme that can accuse them of unrighteous judgement, by bribes or sinister respect: No, had I a thousand lives I durst lay them to stake for them in this behalfe: Doe wee not see how ready they are to spend their meanes, yea their lives even to their last breath, to forsake their owne private profits and pleasures, and all for the setting up of the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the good of the Kingdome, being followers of God, as deare children, *Ephes.* 5.1.

IV. They that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord harkned, and heard it, *Mal.* 3. 16. And blessed be God now we have a gracious King, and an holy Assembly of Parliament, true Israelites indeed, in whom there is no guile, who to their utmost strength and power labour for the flourishing of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who labour that the Churches may bee served with preaching Ministers, and that the peoples soules may not bee starved, as they have beene, but that the Ministers may doe it as of the ability which God giveth, that God in all things may be glorified, 1 *Pet.* 4. 11.

V. The honourable Assembly of Parliament, are right Parliament proofe indeed, who give unto *Cæsar* those things which are *Cæsars*, and unto God those things which are Gods, as *Christ* commands, *Matth.* 22. 21. Yea, and will give the Prelates that which they finde them worthy of, and see justice excuted through the whole Land, that the King may rule in peace, and the people live in comfort.

VI. Blessed be the Lord who hath reduced us to peace, and put it into the Kings heart in calling of the happy assembly of Parliament; Oh Lord we cannot chuse but much admire and praise thy Mercy, to see how thou hast established our peace, since their sitting, to the joy both of King and State; oh how sweet a nap doth the Church now begin to sleepe in the armes of her Savior, so that we may now say Christ hath brought us to the Banqueting house, & his baner over us is love, *Cant.* 2.4.

VII. Oh what truth, what sincerity doth plainly appeare to dwell amongst that holy assembly of Parliament who without all doubt are filled with the Holy Ghost, who have professed a good profession before many witnesse, 1 *Tim.* 6. 12.

They

They ſpare not the mighty for their wealth, nor oppreſſe the poore for their poverty, they lay the juſt cenſure upon the offenders, and ſet free the innocent, guiltleſſe perſons.

Let us but a little meditate upon Gods mercies towards this Kingdome ſince the Parliament began in thoſe great things that he hath done for us, and it will make us ſtand amazed at our happy ſudden change? how hath the Lord aſſwaged the Plague, ſtopped warres, which we feared on every ſide, cauſed diviſions to ceaſe amongſt us: This holy Aſſembly findes out the golden wedges, they caſt out the accurſed things, God is worſhipped, our gracious King is eſtabliſhed in his Throne in peace, and all the whole Land is comforted, who wiſh the proſperity of King and Kingdome.

FINIS.

The true pourtraicture of Richard the 2. King of England, and France, Lord of Ireland, and Prince of Chester he raigned 22 yeres, was deposed and murthered at Pomfraict Cast: at the age of 33 yeares. Buried first at Langley, and 14 yeares after by K. Henry the 5th removed to Westminster, and their was honourably interred.

12

A TRVE

RELATION

OF

THAT MEMORABLE PARLIAMENT, which wrought Wonders.

Begun at *Westminster*, in the tenth yeare of the Reigne of K. RICHARD the second.

Whereunto is added an Abstract of those Memorable matters, before and since the said Kings Reigne, done by Parliaments.

TOGETHER

With a Character of the said amiable, but unhappy King, and a briefe *Story of his Life and lamentable Death.*

Printed in the Yeare, 1641.

AN HISTOIRCAL NARRATION

of that Memorable *Parliament*, begun at *Westminster*, 1386, in the tenth year of the Reigne of King RICHARD the Second.

THis present occasion so opportunely befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath beene omitted, and slipped out of memory long since, concerning divers and sundry changes and alterations in *England*, in former times : Nor will it be any way burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and carefull Reader may learne to avoid diversities of miseries, and the danger and feare of cruell death. I will therefore speake of that which hath laine hid in the darksome shade of forgetfulnesse, concerning men who have been led away by the deceitfull path of Covetousnesse, and have come to

a moſt ſhamefull and ignominious death: a famous example, to deter all men from practiſing thoſe or the like courſes.

ABout the yeere of Chriſt, 1386, at ſuch time as *Richard*, the ſecond of that name, then in prime of his youth, ſwayed the Imperiall Scepter of our Realme, there flouriſhed famous in his Court certain Peeres, though ſome of them not of any honourable deſcent, yet favoured by fortune; by name, *Alexander Nevill*, Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; *Robert Vere*, D. of *Ireland*; *Michael de la Pool*, Earle of *Suffolk*, then Lord Chancelor; *Robert Treſilian*, Lord Chiefe Juſtice of *England*; and *Nicholas Brambre*, ſometimes Major of *London*.

Theſe men being raiſed from meane eſtates by the ſpeciall favour of the King, and advanced to the degree of Privie Counſellors, were the men who had the onely rule of the Common-wealth which they, under the King, governed for ſome ſmall ſpace with careful diligence, meriting thereby deſerved commendations. But not long did they thus ſteere the Ship of the Kingdome; for many of them being of inferiour ranke by birth, not having their veines dignified with the ſtreams of noble blood, they were the ſooner enticed with the libidinous baits of voluptuouſneſſe, and infected with inſatiable itch of avarice: inſomuch, that deſpiſing the authority of the King, and neglecting the commoditie of the Realme, but onely deſiring to keepe up the Revennes of the Kingdome, ſo wrought, that by their policie

policie the King is impoverished, the Treasure exhausted; the Commons murmure at the multiplicity of Tenths, Levies, and Subsidies; the Peeres repine to see themselves disgraced, and their inferiors honoured; and in a word, the whole Kingdome endures an universall miserie.

The nobility seeing the miserable estate wherein the Kingdome lay, bleeding as it were to death, urged their King to summon a Parliament; which was done shortly after. In which amongst many other acts, the afore-named *Michaell de la Poole* is dismist of his Chancelourship; and being accused of divers and many points of injustice, as briberie, Extortion and the like, he was sone after cast into the Castle of *Windsor*, and all his Lands, which were of no small Revenue, were confiscated to the King. Neither did the Parliament here give over, but provided further for the whole state; by the mutuall consent of the King and Prelates, Barons, and Commons, with an unanimous conjunction, they constitute and give plenarie and absolute power to certain Commissioners, as well of the Spiritualty as of the Temporalty; for the ordering and disposing of the publique affaires, according as shall seeme best and most necessary for the desperate estate of the Commonwealth to depresse civill dissentions, and to pacifie and appease the grudgings of the people.

Of the Spiritualty, were chosen the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the afore-named Bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Ely*, lately made Chancelor of

England, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Bishop of *Hereford*, Lord Treasurer; Bishop of *Exeter*, Abbot of *Waleham*, and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*.

Of the Layty were elected the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Arundel*, the Lord *Coltham*, the Lord *scroope*, and *John Devoureux* Knight: these, as men eminent in vertue, were chosen by the generall Suffrage, and sworne to carry themselves as dutifull and obedient subjects in all their actions. And it was further enacted, That if any should refuse or disobey the Ordinances so made for publique good, the punishment of his first offence, should be the confiscation of his goods; and for the second, the losse of life. Thus disposing all things for the best, the Parliament being dissolved, every man returned to his own house.

Soone after, the afore-named Chancelor, with others of their Confederates, being moved with implacable fury against the Statute of the late Parliament, they buzzed into the Kings eares, That the Statutes lately enacted, were very prejudiciall to the honour of his Crowne, and much derogatory to his Princely Prerogative: insomuch, that he should not have power, without the consent of the new appointed Commissioners, to doe any thing befitting a King, no, not so much as to bestow a Largesse; a principall means to gain the peoples love upon any, though never so well deserving.

By these and other the like impious instigations, with which the Devil (as never unmindfull of the end of those, who by their lives doe prove themselves)

ſelves) did continually ſupply them, they practiſed to annihilate and diſanull theſe Acts of the Parliament, which ſeemed any wayes to abbreviate or curbe their uſurped authority.

And firſt, by their ſerpentine tongues, ambitious projects, flattery painted out with gloſing diſcourſes, and covered over with the ſhadow of vigilancie for the good of the Kingdome, they ſo bewitched the Noble inclination of the youthfull King, whom they induced to beleeve, that all the ill they did was a generall good; that hee began to diſtaſte, and at laſt to abhorre the laſt paſſed Acts, as treacherous Plots and moſt wicked Devices.

Next, they ſtudied how to ingroſſe all or the moſt part of the Wealth and Riches of the Kingdome into their owne Coffers; and to the ſame end, dealt ſo cunningly, yet pleaſingly, with the King, that hee gave to the D. of *Ireland*, *John* of *Bloys*, the Heire of the Duchie of *Britaine*, and his Ranſome; to others, Townes; to others, Cities; to others, Lands; to others, Mony, amounting to the ſumme of 100000 Marks, to the great impoveriſhment both of King and Kingdome: Neither did theſe King-eaters and Realme-devourers any thing regard it, but ſetting unskilfull and inſufficient Captaines and Governours over Townes and Forts ſo obtained, gave occaſion to the Enemies of the Crowne to ſurprize them, and diſpoſſeſſe the King of them.

Thirdly, vilifying the dignity of the King, contrary to their allegeance, they drew the King to

ſweare,

ſweare, That with all his power, during his life, he ſhould maintaine and defend them from all their Enemies, whether foraine or domeſtick.

Fourthly, whereas it was enacted by the laſt Parliament, That the King at certaine ſeaſonable times, and when his leyſure would permit him, ſhould ſit at *Weſtminſter*, with his Councell there, to conſult of the publique Affaires; through the perſwaſions of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, hee was drawne into the moſt remoteſt parts of the Realme, to the great diſparagement of the fidelity of thoſe Honourable, grave, and faithfull Peeres, late made joynt Commiſſioners, in whoſe hands the whole ſafety and proſperity of the Commonwealth did reſide.

And when as the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treaſurer, Keeper of the Privie Seale, or any other of the Privie Councell, came to relate any of their owne actions, or the ſtate of the Realme, they could not be granted acceſſe, unleſſe they related the buſineſſe in the preſence and hearing of the Conſpirators, who were alwayes ready to upbraid them if they uttered any thing that diſpleaſed them, and to commend them for any thing (though moſt nefarious) that did content them, for thus could they the ſooner learne and dive into the acts of the Commiſsioners, and the better finde evaſions for their accuſations: Furthermore, when as the King in company of the Conſpirators went in progreſſe towards the parts of *Cheſhire*, *Wales*, and *Lancaſhire*, they made Proclamation in the Kings Name throughout the

Shires

Shires as they journyed, That all Barons, Knights, Esquires, with the greatest part of the Commonalty able to beare Armes, should speedily repaire to the King for his defence against the power of the Commissioners, chiefly of the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earle of *Arundell*, because they above the rest, did with their chiefest endevours, study to suppresse and quell the devices of the Conspirators.

Fifthly, contrary to the aforesaid Acts, they caused the D. of *Ireland* to bee created Chiefe Justice of *Chester*, thereby selling Justice as they listed, condemning the guiltlesse, and remitting the guilty, never respecting or looking unto the equall ballance of Justice, but poyzing downe the Scales with heaps of Bribery.

Sixthly, by the procurement of the Confederates, they caused certaine honest persons, who would not consent to their extortions, to be called and summoned to their Court, and there to answer to certaine false accusations, wherewith they were unjustly charged by perjured hirelings, of which men so accused, some were put to death, some cast into prison, all were vexed and troubled with delayes, length of their iourney to and fro, and excessive charges; neither were they eased of any of these burthens, unlesse they would part with round summes of money to the D. and his Complices.

Seventhly, they gave pardons under the broad Seale, to Felons, Murtherers, and such like, only with this condition, that they should murther any

whomſoever they thought did miſlike their Exaction.

Eightly, they taught the Country of *Ireland* to looke to its priſtine eſtate, I meane, of having a King; for they plotted to have the Duke created King of *Ireland*: and for the confirmation of which their deſigne, they allured the King to ſend his Letters to the Pope.

Ninthly, the aforeſaid *Nicholas Brambre*, in the time of his Maioraltie, cauſed two and twenty to be falſly accuſed of Felonies, and layd into *Newgate*, under pretext and colour of divers Crimes, and in the ſilent and dead time of the night to be faſt bound, and by a ſtrong hand to be carried into *Kent*, to a place commonly called *Fawlocks*, and then to have their heads ſtruck off, except one, who being favoured by the murtherers, ſafely eſcaped; the bloud of the reſt dyed the ſtreames of a ſmall Rivelet adjoyning.

Tenthly, ſoone after, to adde one miſchiefe to another, they ſent Letters under the Kings Signet, to the Maior of *London*, by *John Rippon* Clerke, with a certaine Libell or Schedule incloſed in the ſaid Letters, the tenor of which is as followeth.

That the afore-named three Cõmiſsioners, *viz.* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and other of the Councell, were to be arreſted, indicted, condemned, & put to lamentable death, as being ſuch as had conſpired againſt the King, againſt his Prerogative, and againſt his Crowne and Imperiall Dignity; and to this, they did in a manner conſtrain the King to aſſent unto.

Upon

Upon receit of these Letters, the Major and Aldermen of the City of *London*, called a Common Councell, wherein they consulted what course were best to be taken in this matter; and after long debate *pro & con*, it was on all sides agreed, to deny and not to suffer that cruell and unheard of Tragicall Complot to be executed.

It ever happeneth one wicked Act drawes on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the weight cracks the Supporter.

Therefore the said Conspiratours being blinded with rashnesse, principally sent Letters by *John Godfrey* knight to the King of *France*, the Kings adversary, to conclude a five yeares Truce, should come over to *Callis*, and from thence should send for the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and for some other of the Commissioners, as though the King were unwilling to determine of any thing without their advice; and being thus circumvented, should be condemned as Traitors, and so put to an ignominious and cruell death.

And for the doing and performing of these things, the King of *France* was to recover all the Castles, Townes, and Lands lying in these Countreys, and belonging to the King of *England*: To prove these things to be true, there were certaine Writings produced by the Commissioners, wherein were contained Letters from the King of *France* to the King of *England*, and from the Conspirators in the King of *Englands* Name, to the King of *France*.

Moreover, there were other Letters intercepted directed to the said King of *France*; the substance whereof, was to incite the King of *France* to levie a puissant power both horse and foot, and to draw them down to *Bulloigne*, and thence to transport them into *England*, against the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and the rest of the Commissioners, and all those that did either countenance or favour the said Statute and Commissioners; which as they falsly alleaged, was made in derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and the aforesaid Commissioners to vanquish, oppresse, and put to death, and consequently, the whole Nation and Language utterly to ruine.

Not here concluding their devillish Conspiracy, the five aforesaid Conspiratours departed from *Westminster* to the Castle of *Nottingham*, and sent a writ for *Robert Beale*, Lord chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, and *William Burleigh*, Judges of the said court, and for *John Loston*, the Kings Sergeant at Law: who being come into the Councel Chamber, not knowing what they were sent for, the aforesaid Conspirators caused the Gates and Doores of the Castle to be shut, and then propounded these Questions following unto them.

First, Whether those Statutes, Ordinances, and Commission made in the late Parliament at *Westminster*, were derogatory to the Kings Dignity and Kingly prerogative; and because they were to be punished who did procure those Constitutions, and did incite and move the King to consent

unto

unto them, & did as much as in them lay to hinder the King from exercising his Royall Prerogative.

To these and other the like questions, with a joynt consent they answered, That they were to suffer death as Traitors, or else to endure some capitall punishment: in witnesse of which assertion, being terrified with the fear of present death, the aforesaid Judges, together with *John Carey*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, they signed and sealed a certain Writing, in manner of a protestation, in presence of these Witnesses, *Alex. Nevill*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, Archbishop *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earle of *Suffolk*, *John Rippon* Clerk, and *John Blake* Fruiterer; dated the 19 of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1387, in the 11 yeere of the Reigne of K. *Richard* the Second. Then were they compelled to sweare, that they should keepe the passages undiscovered, upon pain of death; and so they had licence to depart. And when they had plotted those and many other Devillish Conspiracies, they bound themselves by an Oath, to try all wayes and use all means, as far forth as lay in their power, to disanull and utterly abrogate the Acts and Statutes of the last Parliament.

And that which is worse, they caused the King to sweare, That in his proper person with his whole power he should take revenge of the Duke of *Gloucester*, of the two Earles and their adherents, by causing them to be put to death.

The carriage of all which Actions may more easily be known, if the time and the order of them be duly considered.

But our mercifull and ever-gracious God, although there were so many Plots, so many Conspiracies, so many Treasons wrought against our State, whereby many miseries did accrue to our kingdome; yet unwilling to take revenge, or to punish us for our sinnes, but rather according to his gracious pitie, to ease us of our burthenous calamitie; inspired into the hearts of the aforesaid Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the spirit of valour and magnanimitie: who seeing the heap of ils that daily did arise by the practices of those Conspirators; they set almost in every part of the kingdome Intelligencers, who should apprehend all Messengers, and intercept all Letters of the kings, or that went under the kings Name, and should send them to the Commissioners.

And thus did they come to have intelligence of the whole plot of the Conspirators; all their Letters being indorsed with *Glory be to God on high, on Earth peace, and good will towards men*: and by comming to the knowledge of each circumstance, they found, that the kingdome was at the point of destruction; according to that Evangelicall saying, *Every Kingdome divided against it selfe, shall be dissolved*: wherefore they sought for a Remedy; for by the Law of Nature, it is tolerable to repell violence by violence: sithence it is better to prevent then to apply a Remedy to a wound, every man according to his ability levied a power for the preservation of the king and kingdome; all which Forces being united, amounting to the number of 20000 fighting men, and couragiously resolving to

frustrate

fruſtrate all the intended deſignes of the Conſpirators, & to open the Nut by cracking the Shell; they divided their Army, committing part of it to the Earle of *Arundel*: who by night marched away with his Forces, and pitched his Tents neere to *London*, there fortifying himſelf in the Forreſt adjoyning, untill ſuch time as hee had gained more convenient time and greater force, by the comming of his Conſorts: And in the meane time he uſed ſuch diſcipline in his Campe, that he lacked nothing, but all things were there ſold at reaſonable rates, as it had beene at a Market; and hardly could he contain the common people for joyning with him, for the overthrow of the Conſpirators and their adherents.

On the other ſide, the Conſpirators intending to prevent their purpoſes, by power of a certaine Spirituall Commiſsion, and by vertue of certaine Letters Patents in the hands of the Conſpirators, though nothing to the purpoſe; yet to blind the people, they cauſed to be proclaimed throughout the whole Citie of *London*, That none upon paine of the forfeiture of all their Goods, ſhould neither ſell, give, or communicate privately or publiquely Victuall, Armour, or any other neceſſaries to the Army of the Earle of *Arundel*, but ſhould debarre them of ſuſtentation, comfort, or help, as Rebels to the King and Country. But on the other ſide, they began to feare when they were denied their hoped-for Aid by the Major and Commonalty of the Citie of *London*; and againe, they were troubled at the riſing of the Commoners, to invade them.

them. Wherefore they counſelled the King to abſent himſelfe from the Parliament (which was to begin at *Candlemas* next, according as the King and Commiſſioners had appointed it) and not conſult of the Affairs of the Kingdom, nor of his own Eſtate, commodity or diſcommodity, unleſſe the Duke of *Glouceſter*, the two Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, would ſweare, That neither they, nor any in their name, ſhould accuſe them or urge any accuſation againſt them.

And they cauſed it to be proclaimed through the City of *London*, That none under pain of confiſcation of all their goods, ſhould ſpeake any upbraiding ſpeeches concerning the King or the Conſpiratours; which was a thing impoſſible to hinder.

Not long after it hapned, that the King, with the aforeſaid five Conſpiratours, came from his Mannor of *Sheeve* to *Weſtminſter*, to Saint *Edmonds* Tombe, for the ſolemnizing of a Pilgrimage. The Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of *London* met him on horſebacke ſumptuouſly attyred, honouring him very much. And when they came to the *Mews*, they deſcended from their Horſes, and went bare-foot to the Tombe of Saint *Edmond*; whereas the Chaplain of the Commiſſioners, with the Abbot and Covent, met them with a ſtately Proceſſion.

In the meane time the three Noblemen, *viz.* the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earles of *Arundel* and *Warwick* having muſtered their troups on the foure-

foureteenth of *November*, in the ſame yeare, at *Waltham Croſſe*, in the County of *Hertford*, and from thence ſent for the Commiſsioners that were there at *Weſtminſter* in Parliament with the King, ſending an Accuſation in writing to the King againſt the aforeſaid Conſpirators, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Treſilian*, and *Nicholas Brembre*; wherein they accuſed them of high Treaſon: Which their Appellation they did offer to maintaine, and that they were willing to proſecute the ſame; and to prove it to be true, they cauſed alſo the reſt of the Commiſsioners to ſubſcribe, as parties to their Appellation.

When theſe things came to the eares of the King, he ſent unto them, requiring to know what their requeſt was, and what they wiſhed to have beene done: They returned anſwer thus; That they did deſire, that the Traytors which were alwayes about him, filling his eares with falſe reports, and did dayly commit inſufferable Crimes and Injuries, might be rewarded with condigne puniſhment; for it were better that ſome few ſhould dye for the people, then the whole Nation ſhould periſh.

And they likewiſe craved, that they might have ſafe liberty of going and comming to his Grace.

When the King heard their Requeſt, hee gave them his Royall conſent, and commanded them to appeare at *Weſtminſter*; and the King ſitting on his Throne in the great Hall, the three aforeſaid

Peeres Appellants, with a gallant Troup of Gentlemen entred, and making three lowly obeysances on their bended knees, they reverenced the King: and drawing neere (the cause of their comming being alledged) they there againe appealed the Archbishop, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle Treasurer, and *Brambre* of high Treason, according as they had done before at *Waltham Crosse*; but they betaked themselves to the private corners of the Palace, even as *Adam* and *Eve* from the presence of God, not having the heart to appeare, to justifie themselves.

The King called forth the Appellants, to prove and prosecute the Appellation, prescribing them a day and place for the Tryall, which was to be on the morrow after *Candlemas* day; and in the meane time, the King commanded them upon their Honours, not any party to molest the other, untill the next Parliament.

Those things thus passed, were publiquely proclaimed throughout all *England*, and they departed joyfully.

The Duke of *Ireland*, under the guide of his Grand Captain the devil, marching into *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Wales*, raised a new power, amounting to the number of 6000 fighting men, in the Kings name, to overthrow and confound the Appellants; from thence marched towards *London* with his Armie, with a furious intent and resolution to performe his bloudy designe. But God beholding their foolish hearts, filled them with vain hopes, that they should accoplish their enterprises.

And

And whileſt theſe Plots were laid, the Appellants being ſuddenly advertiſed thereof, raiſed a power, and joyning with them the Earle of *Derby*, and the Earle of *Nottingham*, and other Commiſsioners, marched with long and wearied Marches into a Field neere a Village called *Whitney*, at a place called *Locford Bridge*: In which Field the Duke of *Ireland* was with the Army, having a River on the one ſide of them, whereas they ſtood ready prepared to give an overthrow to the Appellants, and diſplaying the Kings Standard, contrary to the Laws of the Land: But although they were ſo valiant at the beginning, yet were they diſcouraged at the end; for when they ſaw the Army of the Appellants march downe from the Mountaines like a Hive of Bees, and with ſuch a violent fury, feare benummed them, and they were ſo amazed, that when they ſhould give the Aſſault (God not ſuffering the effuſion of bloud) they ſtood like a Hive of Bees, or a flock of Cattell without a head, making no ſhew or countenance of reſiſting; but without any ſtroke given, they flung downe their Armes, and yielded themſelves to the mercy of the Appellants; and a few being ſlaine, and ſome drowned in the River, gave an eaſie Victory to the Conquerors. The Duke of *Ireland* himſelfe putting ſpurres to his Horſe, tooke the River, and hardly eſcaped; and though he was purſued, yet hee eſcaped through the middeſt of the Troupes. And thus by the mercy of God they obtained the glorious Palme of Victory from the Hand of Heaven.

When the news of the Victory was blowne to the eares of the reſt of the Conſpirators, who went then ſtricken with feare, and carefull for their preſervation, under covert of the night they fled by Water to the Tower, drawing the king along with them.

On the other ſide, *Nicholas Brambre* with a bold and reſolute courage, in the kings Name cauſed all the Gates of the City to be ſhut againſt the Appellants, and to be guarded with an able and ſufficient Watch: But theſe worthy and dauntleſſe Members of the Common-wealth marched towards *London*, to conferre with the king; bnt when they heard that the ſaid *Nicholas Brambre* had cauſed the Gates of the City to be ſhut againſt them, and to be ſtrongly guarded, and that the whole City did purpoſe to keepe them out, they ſtayed their reſolution.

On the 27 day of *September*, in the ſame yeare, with a melodious ſound of divers kinds of Inſtruments, as well of Warre as of Peace, they encamped themſelves in *Clarkenwell*, within the Liberties of the Citie of *London*; not purpoſing on the one ſide, raſhly or unadviſedly to enter the City, nor on the other ſide, to make any ſhew of feare; but with a ſtayed minde (as befitting wiſe men) with good deliberation to conclude every thing in its due time. And when as the Major, with the Citizens, came unto them with pleaſing words, promiſing unto them all that the City could afford, with reaſon and equity; the Duke of *Gloucester* ſaid, Now I know, that Lyers ſpeakes nothing but Lyes, neither

neither can any man hinder them from the relating: Where upon, by a joint consent, in the Evening they removed their tents, and pitched them before divers Gates of the City.

On the morrow there hapned an enterview betweene the King and the Appellants, so farre, that they opened their minds one to the other: but because the king loathed to speak with them, with such a rabble of men, and in regard of an intolerable boldnes, and some quarrell, which was like to arise; and on the otherside, refusing to goe out of the *Tower* to speake with them, and the Apellants fearing some violence or wrong to bee offered to them, would not speake with the King without a strong guard of valiant Warriours: Therefore the most wise of the Appellants, after divers disputations had resolved to goe and conferre with the King: but first they sent a strong troupe well armed, to search all the Corners and Caves of the *Tower*: and relation being made of the safety of the place, with a selected band of valiant Cavaliers they entred the *Tower*, and seising the Gates, and placing a guard appeared before the King; and there the third time appealed the aforesaid Conspirators, in the same sort and forme as before: which Appellation being ended, the King swore, That he wonld adhere to their connsell, as a good King and a just Judg so farre as the rule of Law, Reason and Equity did require.

These things being accomplished, they departed from the *Tower* to their Tenements and Lodgings: And then it was published and made known in

the preſence of the King, and throughout the Dominions, That on the morrow after *Candlemas* day the aforeſaid Conſpirators ſhould perſonally appeare, to anſwer to the Appellation, whereby they were charged of ſo many Treaſons.

And becauſe the Harveſt was now ripe, & time convenient to cut up thoſe peſtiferous Cockles and Thiſtles, by the aſſent of the King, & conſent of the ſaid Commiſſioners and Appellants, they expulſed divers of the Officers of the Houſhold; *viz.* in the place of *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Houſhold, they appointed *John Devourex*, Knight, one of the Commiſsioners; *Peter Courtney*, Knight, was made Chamberlaine, in the ſtead of *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*. And the aforeſaid *John de Beauchamp*, *Simon de Burleigh*, Vice-Chamberlaine, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trynett*, *James Barats*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights; and Officers of the Clergie, (*viz.*) *Richard Metford* Secretary, *John Blake* Deane of the Chappell, *John Lincolne* Chancelour of the Exchequer, and *John Clifford* Clerke of the Chappell were kept under arreſt too, and were as partakers in the aforeſaid Treaſon; for that they knowing and having intelligence of the ſaid Conſpiracie, they did not diſcover them.

Others alſo as Servants of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, and drawn in by craft, yet guiltleſs, were diſmiſſed and ſent away as men unprofitable, and good for no uſe.

And thus this hideous brood of Monſters, ſo often ſhaken, was quite overthrown.

And

And on the Vigil of the Purification of Saint *Mary*, in the Privie Chamber at *Westminster*, by joynt consent of all the Cõmissioners, the aforesaid *John* · *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *John* Lo*cton*, and *John Carey* were displaced from their Offices, and without any further adoe arrested of Treason, and by the command of the Chancelor were clapt into the Tower; and *Roger Carleton* in the place of *Belknap*, *Walter Clapton* in the place of *Tressilian*, were constituted: and so for that time they departed, and went to dinner.

And because Shrovetide was thought a fit time to punish the Delinquents, according to their deserts; therefore the great Parliament began the second of February following, in this manner.

All the Peeres, as well of the Spiritualty as of the Temporalty, being assembled in the great Hall at *Westminster*, the King soone after came and sate down in his Throne; and after him appeared the five Noblemen Appellants, (the fame of whose admired worth ecchoed through all the Land) entred the House in their costly Robes, leading one another hand in hand, with an innumerable company following them; and beholding where the King sate, all at once, with submissive gestures, they reverenced the King. The Hall was so full of Spectators, that the very Roofes were filled with them: and yet amongst this infinite multitude of the people, there could not be found any of the Conspirators, or of their Complices; but *Brambre* was taken a little before, and cast into the Gaole of *Gloucester*.

The

The Clergie then placing themſelves on the right hand, and the Nobility on the left hand of the King, according to the ancieut Cuſtome of the High Court of Parliament; the Lord Chancelor ſtanding with his back towards the King, by the Kings command declared the cauſe of their Summons to the Parliament: Which being ended, the five foreſaid Appellants ariſing, declared their Appellation by the mouth of R*obert Pleaſington* their Speaker, who thus ſpake:

Behold, the Duke of *Glouceſter* comes to purge himſelfe of Treaſons which are laid to his charge by the Conſpirators. To whom the Lord Chancelor, by the command of the King anſwered: My Lord Duke, the King conceiveth ſo honourably of you, that hee cannot be induced to beleeve, that you, who are of affinity to him in a collaterall Line, ſhould attempt any Treaſon againſt his ſacred Majeſtie. The Duke, with his foure Companions, upon their knees humbly gave thanks to the King, for his gracious opinion of their fidelity.

Then after ſilence proclaymed, they aroſe, and delivered in certaine Articles in Writing, wherein were contained the particularity of the Treaſon. Which ſaid Articles were read by *Godfrey Martin*, the Clerk of the Crowne, ſtanding in the midſt of the Parliament Houſe, by the ſpace of two houres, with an audible voice. At the reading of which, there was a wonderfull alteration in the Houſe: For, whereas before the people were glad of the diſcovery of the Treaſon; at the rehearſall

of

of it, their hearts were so overcome with griefe, that they could not refrain from teares. When the Articles were read, the Appellants requested the King, that sentence of condemnation might be given against the Conspirators, and they to receive the guerdon of their deserts; which the king promised to grant. This was the first dayes worke. The second was ended with variation of divers consultations which I will not relate in particular, but treat of the whole Parliament in generall.

And when the third day came of their proceedings against the conspirators, the Lord Chancelor in the name of the Clergie, in open Parliament made an Oration, shewing that they could not by any meanes be present at the proceeding, whereas there is any censure of death to be passed. For the confirmation whereof, they delivered in a Protestation; which being read, they spake, That neither in respect of any favour, nor for feare of any mans hate, nor in hope of any reward, they did desire to absent themselves; but onely, that they were bound by the Canon, not to be present at any mans Arraignment or condemnation. They likewise sent their Protestation to the Chappell of the Abbey, where the Commons sate; which was allowed of. And then, when the Appellants called for Justice against the conspirators, the Lords of the Spiritualty arose, and went into the Kings chamber neere adjoyning.

But the King being moved in conscience, and in charitie, perceiving that in every worke they

 are

are to remember the end; and being willing (contrary to the rigour of the Law) to favour rather these that were guilty then the Actours in that Treason; if they were able to alledge any thing in their defence, caused the Processe to cease: but the Peeres (being earnest) requested, That no businesse past, present, or to come, might be debated, untill this Treason were adjudged; to which Petition, the king graciously granted his assent.

On the 11 day of *February*, when nothing could be alledged, nor no witnesse produced, in justification of the conspiratours, but that the definitive Sentence of condemnation must be pronounced against them; the aforesaid *John Devereux*, Marshall of the Court, and for that time the Kings Lievtenant, adjudged them this heavy Doome; That the said Archbishop of *Yorke*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earle of *Suffolke*, *Tressilian*, and *Brambre*, should be drawn from the Tower to Tyburne, and there to be hanged upon a Gibbet untill they were dead, and all their Lands and Goods to be confiscated, that none of their posterity might be by them any way enriched.

On the 12 day of *February*, which was the first day of *Shroveside*, *Nicholas Brambre* appeared in Parliament; and being charged with the aforesaid Articles of Treason, hee craved favour to advise of Counsell learned, and some longer time for his more full answer to his Accusation; but yet hee desired a thing neither usuall, nor allowable by the Law, and required a thing which the rigour of the Law, in case of that nature, would not afford.

But

But the Judges charged him to answer severally to every point in the Articles contained: Whereunto *Brambre* answered, Whosoever hath branded me with this ignominious mark, with him I am ready to fight in the Lists, to maintaine my Innocencie, whensoever the King shall appoint. And this he spake with such a fury, that his eyes sparkled with rage, and he breathed as if an *Ætna* had lay hid in his brest; chusing rather to die gloriously in the field, then disgracefully on a Gibbec.

The Appellants hearing this couragious Challenge, with resolute countenance answered, That they would willingly accept of the Combat, and thereupon flung downe their Gages before the King; and on a suddaine the whole company of Lords, Knights, Esquires, and Commons flung down their Gages so thick, that they seemed like Snow in a Winters day, crying out, Wee also will accept of the Combat, and will prove these Articles to be true to thy head, most damnable Traytor, and so they departed for that day.

And although the Appellants were not idle in the night, yet on the next day, to aggravate their Appellation against the Conspirators, there came divers Companies of the Citie of *London*, complaining of the manifold injuries they had suffered by *Brembre*, and other Extortioners and Exactions wherewith they had been dayly charged; and yet they protested, that they did not accuse him either for hate to his person, or for love, feare, or hope of reward from his enemies, but onely they charged him with the truth.

But before they proceed with his tryall, they were ſtayed by moſt unfortunate *Treſſilian*, who being got upon the top of an houſe adjoyning to the Palace, and had deſcended into a gutter onely to looke about him, he was diſcovered by certaine of the Peeres, who preſently ſent ſome of the Guard to apprehend him, who entring into the houſe where hee was, and having ſpent long time in vaine in looking for him, at length one of the Guard ſtept to the Maſter of the houſe, and taking him by the ſhoulder with his Dagger drawne, thus ſaid, Shew us where thou haſt hid *Treſſilian*, or elſe reſolve thy dayes are accompliſhed; the Maſter trembled, ready to yeeld up the ghoſt, for feare anſwered, Yonder is the place where he lyes, and ſhewes him a round Table covered with branches of Bay, under which *Treſſilian* lay cloſe covered; when they had found him they drew him out by the heeles, wondring to ſee him, as vipers uſe, to weare his head and beard o'r-growne, with old clowted ſhooes, and patched hoſe, more like a miſerable poore begger, then a Judge.

When this came to the eares of the Peeres, the five Appellants ſuddenly aroſe up, and without expreſsing any reaſon, departed out of the Parliament Houſe, which bred great alteration in the Houſe, inſomuch that many followed them, and when they come to the Gate of the Hall, they met the Guard leading of *Treſſilian* bound, crying, as they came, We have him, we have him.

Treſſilian being come into the Hall, was asked what

what he could ſay for himſelfe, why judgement ſhould not paſſe upon him for his treaſon ſo often committed, hee became as one that had beene ſtruck dumb, and his heart was as it were hardned to the very laſt, and would not confeſſe himſelfe guilty of any thing: And for this cauſe the Parliament aroſe, deferring B*rembres* triall till the next day. But *Treſßilian* was without delay led to the Tower, that he might ſuffer the execution of the ſentence paſſed againſt him, his wife and his children did with maine teares accompany him to the Tower, but his wife was ſo overcome with dolour and griefe, that ſhe fell down in a ſwound as if ſhe had beene dead.

Immediatly *Treſßilian* is upon a hurdle, and drawne thorow the ſtreets of the Citie, with a wonderfull concourſe of people following him, at every furlongs end he was ſuffered to ſtand ſtill to reſt himſelfe, and to ſee if hee would confeſſe and report himſelfe of any thing, but what he ſaid to the Fryer his Confeſſor is not knowne, neither am I able to ſearch it out; when hee came to the place of execution hee would not climb the Ladder, untill ſuch time as being ſoundly beaten with bats and ſtaves he was forced to goe up, and when he was up, hee ſaid, So long as I doe weare any thing upon me I ſhall not dye, wherefore the executioner ſtripped him, and found certaine Images painted like to the ſignes of Heaven, and the head of a devill painted, and the names of many of the devills wrote in Parchment; the exorciſing toyes being taken away, hee was hanged up naked,

and becauſe the ſpectators ſhould be certainly aſſured that he was dead, they cut his throat, and becauſe the night approached, they let him hang untill the next morning, and then his wife having obtained a licence of the King, tooke downe his body, and carried it to the Grey-Fryers, where it was buried. On the morrow ſentence was likewiſe pronounced againſt *Brembre*, who being drawne upon a hurdle from the Tower to Tyborne thorow the City, ſhewed himſelfe very penitent, humbly craving mercy and forgiveneſſe at the hands of God and men, whom he had ſo grievouſly offended, and whom he had ſo injuriouſly wronged in time paſt, and did earneſtly deſire them all to pray for him; when the rope was about his neck ready to be turned off, a certaine young man, the ſonne of one *Northampton*, asked him if hee had done juſtice to his Father or not, for *Northampton* was ſometimes Maior of the Citie of *London*, more wealthy and more ſubſtantiall then any elſe in the Citie, him did *Brembre* and *Treſilian* accuſe of Treaſon & Conſpiracie againſt the State, and condemned him to dye, being diſpoyled of his eſtate, he himſelfe at length hardly eſcaped, to whom *Brembre* anſwered and confeſſed with bitter teares, that what hee did was moſt vile and wicked, and with an intent only to murther and overthrow the ſaid *Northampton*, for which craving pardon of the young man being ſuddenly turned off, and the Executioner cutting his throat, hee dyed. Behold how pleaſant and delightfull it is to climbe up to honour, I ſuppoſe

it

it is better to live meanely at home with quietneſſe amongſt poore men, then to lord it amongſt Princes, and in the end to climb a ladder amongſt Thieves, it is even better to undergoe the burden then to aſſume the name of honour; therefore whoſoever that doth not regard the Lawes, let them obſerve and conſider the end of theſe men, and with what period they finiſhed their days.

Theſe men being diſpatched, the Parliament diſcontinued their proceedings againſt the reſt of the Conſpirators till a more convenient time; and tooke into their conſiderations other more weighty affaires of the weale publike, they made the Earle of *Arundell* Lord Admirall, giving him authority to reſiſt and to repulſe either by Sea or Land the enemies of the Crowne wherefoever he ſhould find them.

And it was further agreed on, that for the appeaſing of all private diſcontents (if any were) the King, and the reſt of the Appellants with the reſt of the commiſsioners ſhould dine together in the great Hall, which they did, and there was great joy at this reconciliation through all the Kingdome.

When theſe things were concluded, they then began againe this araignment of the Traytors, whereupon *John Blake* and *Thomas Vske* were indicted on the 4. day of March, who although they were men of inferiour quality yet were they found to bee parties in the ſaid Treaſon; *Vſke* was a Sergeant at Armes, and was indicted amongſt the Conſpirators, ſo that being

late made Sheriffe of *Middlesex* hee had indicted the five Appellants and the Commissioners as Traytors, and *Blake* was an Intelligencer of *Tressilians*, one that used to goe and come betweeue the Conspirators, aud relate the state and successe of the treason from one to another.

And when they could say nothing to prove themselves cleare, sentence was pronounced upon them as their Masters were before them, they were carried to the Tower, and from thence were dragged at the Horse taile to Tyborne, and there hanged.

But *Vske* obtained this favour, that his head was cut off after hee was hanged and set aloft upon Newgate for Fowles of the aire to take repast.

On the sixth day of March there were called to answer, *Robert Belknap*, *John Holt*, *Roger Faltborp*, *William Burleigh*, *Iohn* Locton, and *Iohn Carey* Baron of the Exchequer, for their conspiracy against the Commissioners at *Nottingham*, but because it is not needfull to rehearse every part of their indictment, they were all condemned like as the rest.

Whilst the Peeres were trying them, the Clergie were retired into the Kings Chambers, but when word was brought to them of the condemnation of the Judges, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale arose hastily and went into the Parliament house, powring forth their complaints before the King and the

the Peeres humbly upon their knees beſeeching them that for the love of God, the Virgin *Mary*, and of all the Saints, even as they hoped to have mercy at the day of Judgement, they ſhould ſhew favour and not put to death the ſaid Judges then preſent, and bitterly bewayling their iniquities in whoſe hearts the very life, ſoule, and ſpirit of our Engliſh Lawes lived, flouriſhed, and appeared, and there appeared great ſorrow both on the one part of the Complainants, and alſo of the Defendants.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* likewiſe with the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*, whoſe hearts began to be mollified, and joyned with them in their lamentable Petition.

At length by interceſſion of the Clergy, the execution upon the perſons was ceaſed, and their lives were granted them, but were ſent to the Tower to be kept cloſe priſoners.

On the 12. of March, being thurſday, it hapned that the afore-ſaid Knights, *Simon de Burleigh*, *Iohn de Beauchamp*, *Iames Baroverſe*, and *Iohn Salisbury* were brought into the Parliament houſe where their accuſations were read, proved, they found guilty, and not any way able to cleare themthemſelves.

From this day almoſt till the Aſcenſion of our Lord, the Parliament houſe was only taken up with the tryall of Sir *Symon Burleugh*, for three Appellants, *viz.* The Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*, with the whole houſe of Commons, vrged that execution might be per-

formed according to the Law : And on the other ſide, the King, and Queene, the Earles of *Darby*, and *Nottingham*, and the Prior of Saint *John* his Vncle, with the major part of the uper Houſe, did labour to have him ſaved.

But becauſe the Commons were tyred with ſo long delayes, and excuſes in the Parliament; and fearing, as it was moſt like, that all their paines would be to little or no purpoſe, they humbly crayed leave of the King, to goe to their habitations.

There was alſo ſome muttering amongſt the Common people, and it was reported to the Parliament, that the Commons did riſe in diverſe parts of the Realme, but eſpecially about *Kent*, in favour of the ſaid Sir *Simon Burleigh*, which when they heard thoſe, that before ſpake and ſtood for him, now flew cleane from him, and by joynt conſent on the fifth day of *May*, ſentence was pronounced only againſt the ſaid Sir *Symon*, that hee ſhould be drawne from the Tower to Tyborne; and then to be hanged till hee were dead, and then to have his head ſtrooke from his body. But becauſe he was a knight of the Garter, a gallant Courtier, powerfull, and once a Favourite of the Kings, and much reſpected of all the Court, the King of his ſpeciall Grace, was pleaſed to mittigate his doome, that he ſhould only be led to Tower-hill, and ther be beheaded.

On the twelfe of *May*, the Thurſday before Whitſontyde, in like manner were condemned, *John Beauchamp* Steward of the houſhold to the King,

King, *Iames Bereverous*, and *Iohn Salsbury* knights, Gentlemen of the privie Chamber, whereof the two first, *viz. Iohn Beauchamp*, and *Iames Bereverous* were beheaded on Tower-hill, but *Iohn Salsbury* was drawn from Tower-hill to Tyborne, and there was hanged.

On the same day also, was condemned the Bishop of *Chichester* the Kings Confessor, but because of his great dignitie, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the shedding of so much Christian blood, they tooke into consideration, other more weighty affaires for the good of the Realme concerning the Wars with the *Scots* and *French*, concerning Loanes and Subsidues, and of the customes of Wine and Wooll.

And also concerning the translation of some Bishops, because Pope *Vrban* the sixth, after it came to his eares, that the Archbishop of *Yorke* was condemned, to avoyd all hope of Irregularity, he created him Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes* in *Scotland*: which Archbishop was under the power of *Scots*, enemies to the Crown; and in the gift of the Arch-Pope: and because the Pope did chalenge halfe the title of all *England* to maintaine his Wars, but although he craved it, yet he was denyed: therefore hee dealt warily and craftily; hoping to make up his mouth, by the translation of Bishops: the Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, was made Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Dublyn* succeeded in his place; the Bishop of *Bathan-Wells* in his place: the Bishop of *Sarum* in his place, and the Lord *Iohn* of *Waltham*, Lord-keeper of the pri-

vie Seale in his place: And this by his translation of Bishops, he gained himselfe much money, according to the Lawes of the Canon; and when this came to the eares of the Parliament, that such a summe of money should be transported out of the Land, they strove what they could to hinder it, but could not, because the Clergie gave their consent.

On the last day of May, the King appointed both houses to meet at *Keemington*, whereas they made a conclusion of all the tryalls of the said treason, granting license to *Thomas Trenet*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights, *Richard Metford*, *Iohn Slake*, *Iohn Lincolne*, Clerkes, to put in baile, provided they were sufficient, and to goe into a place of *England* where they listed, without any let or hindrance of any of the Kings Officers.

Moreover, the six Iustices, with the Bishop of *Chichester*, who stood condemned with them, were sent into *Ireland*, there to remaine for tearme of life, and thus they were to be divided, *viz.*

Robert Belknap and *John Holt* in the Village of *Dromore* in *Ireland*, not to remaine as Iustices or any officers, but to live as banished offenders, not to be out of Towne above the space of two miles upon paine of death; but the King out of his gracious bounty was pleased to give a yearly annuity of 40. pound to *Robert Belknap*, of 20. markes to *John Holt*, during their lives; and to *Roger Fulthorpe* the King allowed 40. pound, and to *William Burleigh* 40. pound during life, confining them to the

the City of *Dublin*, granting *Burleigh* the liberty of two miles, and to *Fulthorpe* three miles for their recreation, *John Carey*, and *John Locton* with the yearely allowance of 20. pound during life, are confined to the Tower of *Waterford* with the like liberty, and the like penaltie; and the Bishop of *Chichester* is likewise sent to *Corke*, there to remaine with some allowance and the like penaltie.

Behold these men who feared not God, nor regarded men, but having the Lawes in their owne hands, wrested them now this way, now that way, as pleased best their appetites, wresting them at their pleasures for their owne commoditie, were at the last brought downe to the depth of miserie from whence they were never able to free themselves.

On the third day of Iune, which was the last day of the Parliament, the King, the Queene, the Peeres of both Estates with the Commons, came to the Abbey at *Westminster*, whereas the Bishop of *London*, because it was in his Diocesse sung Masse, and the Masse being ended, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made an Oration concerning the former danger of the Oath, which being, although the Peeres and Commons had taken the Oath of Allegeance, and homage to the King, yet because the King was young when they tooke the Oath a-new (as at the first) at his Coronation.

These Ceremonies being performed, the Metropolitan of *England* with all his Suffragans there

present, having lighted a Candle, and putting it under a stoole, put it out, thereby excommunicating all such as should seeme to distaste, dislike, or contradict any of the fore-passed Acts in the last Parliament; And the Lord Chancellor, by the Kings appointment, caused all that were present to sweare to keepe the said Statutes inviolably whole, and undissolved, as good and faithfull Liege-people of the Kings, and the forme of the Parliament was observed throughout all the Realme.

On the morrow, which was the fourth day of June, many courteous salutations and congratulations having passed betweene the King, the Nobility, and Comminalty, the Parliament was dissolved, and every man returned home.

And now let *England* rejoyce in Christ, for that the net which was laid so cunningly for our destruction, is broken asunder, and wee are delivered. To God be the praise for all.

FINIS.

THE Names of such as were charged and condemned of high Treason in this aforesaid Memorable Parliament.

ALexander Nevile, *Archbishop of* Yorke.

Robert de Vere, *Duke of* Ireland, *who was banished into* France, *where he was killed in a wilde Bore.*

Michael de la Poole, *Earle of Suffolke, and Lord Chancellor.*

Robert Tressilian, *Lord chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench.*

Sir Nicholas Bramber, *sometimes Lord Major of London made a Privie Counsellour.*

John Blake, *a Serjeant at Armes.*

Thomas Vske, *an Intelligencer of Tressilians.*

All these except the Duke of Ireland were drawne and hanged at the Elmes, now called Tyburne.

Robert Belknap.

John Holt.

Roger Falthorp.

William Burleigh.

Iohn Locton.

Iohn Carey *Baron of the Exchequer.*

All these former 6. named men were, as it seemes Iudges, and although condemned, yet their lives were saved at the intercession of some of the guiltlesse

lesse Peeres, and they afterward were banished into Ireland.

Sir Symon de Burleigh *was also condemned and beheaded: he was a Knight Banneret, and of the Garter, a great and gallant Courtier, and his body lyeth honourably buried and intombed in* Pauls *Church.*

Sir John Branchamp *Steward of the Houshold to the King, and*

Sir Iames Beverous *were also condemned & beheaded at* Tower-hill.

Sir Iohn Salisbury *was condemned, drawne from Tower-hill to Tiburne, and then hanged.*

There were also detected and condemned of the aforesaid Treason.

The Bishop of Chichester, *the Kings Confessor.*

Sir Thomas Trinet, *Knight.*

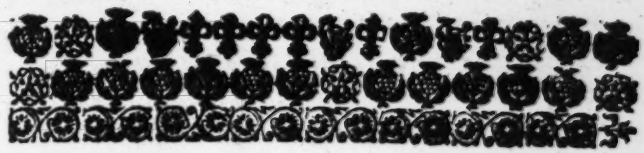
Sir William Ellingham, *Knight.*

Sir Nicholas Nagworth, *Knight.*

Richard Metford, *Clerke.*

Iohn Slake, *Clerke.*

Iohn Lincoln, *Clerke.*



An Abstract of many memorable matters done by PARLIAMENTS in this Kingdome of ENGLAND.

BY *Parliament* Sir Thomas Wayland *chiefe Justice of the Common-Pleas*, 17. *Ed.* 1. *was attainted of Felony for taking bribes and his lands and goods forfeited, as appeares in the Pleas of* Parliaments, 18. Edward 1. *and he was banished the Kingdome, as unworthy to live in that state, against which he had so much offended.*

By Parliament Sir William Thorpe *chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench in* Ed. 3. *times having of five persons received five severall bribes, which in all amounted to but one hundred pounds, was for this alone adjudged to bee hanged and all his goods and lands forfeited.*

The reason of the Iudgement is entred in the Roll in these words.

Because that, *as much as in him lay, he had broken the Kings Oath made to the people, which the King had intrusted him withall.*

By Parliament *holden Anno.* 22. Hen. *the second assembled at* Nottingham, *and by advise thereof*

the King caused the Kingdome to be divided into 6 parts, and Justices Itinerants appointed for every part with an Oath by them to be taken for themselves, to observe and cause inviolablie to be observed of all his subjects of England, the Assises made at Claringdon *and renued at* Northton.

By Parliament, In the 11. *of* Edw. *the first, the Dominion of Wales was united to the Crowne of* England *in the Parliament in* Anno 16. *of* Edw. *the first* 1289 *upon the generall compts made of the ill administration of Iustice in the Kings absence, by divers great Officers and Ministers of Iustice these penalties were inflicted upon the chiefe Ministers thereof, whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that profession (apt to abuse their science, and authority, the necessity of reforming so grievous a mischiefe in the Kingdome, gave easie thereunto by the Parliament then assembled, wherein upon due examinations of their offences they are fined to pay to the King these sums following.*

First, Sir Ralph Hengham, *chiefe Justice of the higher Bench seaven thousand markes.*

Sir Iohn Loveton *Justice of the Lower Bench, three thousand markes.*

Sir William Bromton *Iustice, six thousand markes.*

Sir Soloman Rochester, *foure thousand markes.*

Sir Richard Boyland, *foure thousand markes.*

Sir Thomas Sadington *two thousand markes.*

Sir Walter Hopton *two thousand markes*

These foure last were Justices Itenerants.

Sir William Saham, *three thousand markes*

Robert Lithbury *Master of the Rolls one thousand markes.*

Roger Leicester, *one thousand markes.*

Henry Bray, *Escheater and Judge for the Jewes one thousand markes. But Sir* Adam Stratton *chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in foure and thirty thousand markes. These fines as the Rate of money goes now, amount to neere three hundred thousand markes, a mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men, which how they could a masse in those dayes when litigation and Law had not spred it selfe into those infinit wreathings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange even to our greater-getting times.*

In the Parliament Anno 2. of Edward *the third held at* Nottingham, *that great aspirer* Mortimer *was accused and condemned and sent up to* London, *and drawne, and hanged at the Common Gallowes at the Elmes now called Tiburne.*

In the 50. yeare of the raigne of Edward *the third Anno Dom.* 1376 *was held a* Parliament

at Westminster, *which was called the great Parliament, where were divers complaints exhibited by the Parliament, charging the Kings Officers with Fraud, and humbly craving, that the Duke of* Lancaster, *the Lord* Latimer, *then Lord* Chamberlaine *Dame* Alice Peirce *the Kings Concubine, and one Sir* Richard Sturry *might be removed from Court, their complaints & desires are so vehemently urged by their Speaker Sir* Peter la Moore, *that all these persons were presently put from Court.*

By Parliaments all the wholesome fundamentall Lawes of this Land were and are established and confirmed.

By Act of Parliament the Popes *power and Supremacie, and all superstition and Idolatry are abrogated, abolished and banished out of this Land.*

By Act of Parliament *Gods true Religion, worship and service are maintained and established.*

By Act of Parliament *the two famous Vniversities of* Cambridge and Oxford, *have many wholesome and helpfull Immunities.*

By Parliament *one* Pierce Gaveston, *a great favorite and notable misleader of K.* Edw. 2. *was removed, banished, and afterwards by the Lords executed. So were* Hugh Spencer *the Father, and* Hugh *the Sonne.*

By Parliament Empson *and* Dudley, *two notorious polers of the Common-wealth, by exacting penall Lawes on the subjects, were discovered, and afterwards executed.*

By

By Parliament *the damnable Gun-pouder Treason (hatched in Hell) is recorded to bee had in eternall Infamie.*

By Parliament *one* Sir Giles Mompesson, *a Moderne Caterpiller and poler of the* Common-wealth, *by exacting upon Inholders, &c. was discovered, degraded from Knighthood, and banished by Proclamation.*

By Parliament Sir Francis Bacon, *made by King* James *Baron* Veralam, *and Viscount* St. Albanes, *and Lord Chancellor of England, very grievous to the* Common-wealth, *by bribery, was discovered and displaced.*

By Parliament Sir John Bennit *Judge of the Prerogative Court, pernicious to the Commonwealth in his place, was discovered and displaced.*

By Parliament Lyonell Cranfield *(sometimes a Merchant of London) made by* K. James *Earle of Middlesex, and Lord Treasurer of England: hurtfull in his place to the* Common-wealth, *was discovered, and displaced.*

By Parliament one Sir Francis Mitchell, *a jolly Justice of Peace for Middlesex in the Suburbes of London, another notable Canker-worme of the Common-wealth, by corruption in exacting the penall Lawes upon poore Alehouse-keepers and Victuallers, &c. was discovered, degraded from Knighthood, and utterly disabled for being Iustice of Peace.*

By

By Parliament, Spaines *late fraud was discovered, and by Act the two Treaties, with that perfidious Nation, for the match of the Prince, our now gracious King; and restitution of the* Palatinate *were dissolved and annihilated: both which had cost the King and his Subjects much money, and much blood. We may remember that that sage Counceller of State Sir* William Cecill, *Lord* Burleigh *and Lord Treasurer of* England, *was oftt times heard to say,* Hee knew not what an Act of Parliament might not doe: *which sage saying was approved by King* James, *and by his Majestie alleaged in one of his published speeches.*

Which being so, now the face of Christendome being at this present so torne and miserably miscarried, and the Christian *World distracted; the Gospell in all places, almost persecuted, both Church & Common-wealth, where the Gospell is professed in all places beyond the Seas, lying a bleeding (as we may say) and we our selves at home not without feare and danger. To conclude, what good may we not hope and pray for, by this present and other ensuing* Parliaments: *the onely meanes to rectifie and remedy matters in* Church *and* Common-wealth *much amisse.*

The

The Character.

RIchard *Son of the valiant and victorious* Edward *the* blacke Prince, *was borne at* Burdeaux, *and* grand-child *to King* Edward *the third, being* 11. *yeeres old, began his Reigne the* 21. *day of June, in the yeare of our Lord,* 1377. *and was crowned King at* Westminster *the* 16. *of July. In beauty, bounty, and liberality, he farre passed all his Progenitors; but was overmuch given to ease and quietnesse, little regarding Military matters of Armes: and being young was most ruled by young Counsell, regarding little the Counsell of the sage & wise men of the Realme,* which thing turned this Land to great trouble, and himselfe to extreame misery; *For being first disgraced by his Cousin,* Henry of Bullingbroke *Duke of* Hereford, *son of* John *of* Gaunt *Duke of* Lancaster, *he was at length by him (with the generall consent of the whole* Parliament) *deposed from his Crown and Kingdome the* 29. of September 1399. *and committed to prison, and afterwards wickedly murdered. For being sent to* Pomfret Castle, *to be safely kept, and Princely maintained, he was shortly after by King* Henrics *direction and commandment (who feared lest his estate might be shaken whiles* King Richard *liv'd) wickedly assaulted in his lodging by* Sir Piers of Exton, *and* 8. *other armed men, from one of which, with a Princely courage, he wrested a Brown Bill, and*

therewith slew 4. of them, fought with all the rest: untill comming by his owne Chaire (in which the base cowardly Knight himselfe stood for his owne safety) he was by him stricken with a Pole-Axe, in the hinder part of his head, that presently hee fell downe and dyed, when he had raigned 22. yeares, 14 weekes, and 2 dayes.

More Memorable things done by Parliaments.

By *Parliament* Richard Montague (*since made Bishop of* Chichester, *and now Bishop of* Norwich) *his pernicious Booke entituled* Apello Cæsarem, (*First confuted by Doctor* Carlton *then B. of* Chichester, *and divers other Reverend Orthodox Divines*) *was displayed, and by* Proclamation *dated* 1628. *the booke was called in and prohibited: and he the said* Montague *was discovered to be a notable unorthodox man, &c.*

By Parliament Roger Manwayring, *D. of Divinity, & Parson of St.* Giles *in the* Fields, *and the Kings* Chaplaine, *was discovered to be an unorthodox man, and brought on his knees to the Bar of the Honourable House of* Parliament, *and the booke of his two seditious Printed* Sermons *against* Parliaments, *entituled* Religion and Allegeance, *was by* Proclamation *called in and prohibited: and he the said*

said Manwayring, *was censured and deprived of his Livings, not to come neere the Court, nor to exercise or use any Ministeriall Office, &c. But notwithstanding, soone after the fatall dissolution of that* Parliament, 1629. *He the said* Manwayring *by the power of a little great Prelate, was not onely restored to his former Livings, but soone after, hee was preferred and made Deane of* Worcester, *afterwards a Bishop, and is now Bishop of* St. Davids, *the first Bishoprick in* Wales.

And in as much, as so many Memorable things have bin done by Parliaments, *somewhereof in former Times, have indeed done no lesse, than* write Wonders; *for Reformation of Corruptions, and Grievances & exemplary Executions in the State and Common-wealth: And seeing the other day,* viz. 22. *of February, there was that correspondence, and happy agreement betwixt his sacred Majesty, and both the houses of* Parliament *now sitting*, which made the Evening of that Day, crowned with Bone-fires and Bells-ringing for joy. *Let us not cease to pray and beseech the Lord of Hosts, still so to unite the heart of the Kings Majesty to the* Parliament (his great Counsell) that the Upper and Lower Houses may unanimously agree, and be reciprocally united to the King, that many matters now much amisse in Church and Common-wealth may be reformed, and this Yeare may be accounted *Annus Aureus*, and that this present Parliament begun this Yeare may be in-

ſcribed and engraven in Marble and in Letters of Gold;

By Parliament the Earle of Straford Deputy of Ireland, grievous to the Common-wealth, was diſcovered, and after an Honourable Tryal, was attainted of high Treaſon, for which hee ſuffered death, May the twelfth, 1641.

SACRED TO MEMORY

POSTERITY THE (LONG EXPECTED)

HAPPY PARLIAMENT,

Begun M D C. XL.

Ended and made a Seſsion.

Vivat Rex
Floreat Regnum
Bene valeat Parliamentum.

Hallelujah.

FINIS.

C

T

A

Th

P

A Compendious Discourse, PROVING EPISCOPACY TO BE OF APOSTOLICALL, AND CONSEQVENTLY OF DIVINE INSTITUTION:

BY

A cleare and weighty testimony of St. *Irenæus* a glorious Martyr, and renowned Bishop of Lyons in France, upon the yeere of our Lord, 184.

The said Testimony being so declared, pressed, and vindicated from all exceptions, that thereby an intelligent, and conscionable Reader may receive abundant satisfaction in this behalfe.

ISAIAH 39. 8.

Let there be peace and truth in my daies.

BY

Peloni Almoni, Cosmopolites.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. G.* for *Richard Whitaker* at the Kings Armes in *Pauls* Church-yard, 1641.

To the Christian and Judicious Reader.

IT is true in this particular case of Episcopacy, *which* Salomon *speaketh in the general:* How good is a word spoken in due season? It is like apples of gold in pictures of silver. *If ever there were a season to write, or speake, in defence of Episcopacy, it is now, or never; wherein men travaile in birth to bring forth their severall conceipts: some doubting whether it be of divine, or humane institution: some affirming the one, some the other: some desiring to preserve it, some to destroy it. In such a time silence is dangerous, wherein liberty is ill given to, or ill taken by the adversaries of Gods ordinance to publish their raw and undigested discourses; fraught with more malice then truth. But* cantabunt cygni, cum graculi tacuerint.

As for myselfe, I hope that I may make

use of this publique liberty, without offence (which I seeke not) or danger (which I regard not) to speake a word for my Reverend Mother, the Church of England, and my Venerable Fathers, the Bishops thereof: for I may say with S. Hierome, *in a cause Ecclesiasticall;* Mori possum, tacere non possum. *I passe a while under an unknowne name; as some adversaries of* Episcopacy *do: the person is little to the matter:* Res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet, *as S.* Augustine *writeth.*

Meane while know thus much of me unknowne; that I have no dependance upon any Bishop; though there be one, singularly learned and truely religious, in that sacred Order, Cui debeo quicquid possum, & non possum (*to use S.* Hieromes *words*) *from whom yet, as from the rest, I expect nothing; being rich in my contentment, and private course of life; wherein though I enjoy little, yet I seeke nothing more; but that the truth may have victory, the Church peace, and God the glory; Amen.*

Lond. *May* 31. 1641.

Thy friend in Christ
Peloni Almoni.

A Compendious Discourse proving *Episcopacy* to be of Apostolicall and consequently of Divine Institution.

IT is a vanity to speake much of a little, and a difficulty to speake little of much; as in this copious argument of *Episcopacy*, which pleadeth discent from the blessed Apostles: to which purpose I might produce many proofes from *Scripture*, *Antiquity*, (Fathers, and Histories) from the most famous *Divines* of forraine Churches and our owne; and finally from *Reasons*, depending upon the sacred oracles of God.

But now, in this latitude of matter, to avoyd longitude of discourse, I have confined my selfe especially to one important Testimony; one in stead of many, or of all: in pursuit, explication, and defence whereof, I shall have occasion, fairely presented unto me, to reflect a little upon those other grounds: and so out of all, to give as plentifull satisfaction upon this point as it doth require, or so compendious a discourse can permit.

Understand then, you that are ignorant, or remember you that are learned, that S. *Irenæus* confuteth the *Marcionites*, and *Valentinians* (leaden hereticks in that golden age) by a double probation: first out of the holy *Scriptures*, and then by Apostolicall *Tradition*; not

not in the Popish sense of *an unwritten word*, but in an orthodoxall sense of the doctrine preached by the Apostles, and by them, planted in the Churches which is also in the written word: the same descending from the time of the Apostles unto the time of *Irenæus* himselfe.

Lib. 3. cap. 3. To this end and purpose, he first * produceth the Church of *Rome*; then most famous in the world, as instructed by S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, who as he conceiveth governed it joyntly, and taught it fully in all the mysteries of Christian doctrine; which finally they watered with their owne blood: from, and after whom (saith he) in a lineall succession *Eleutherius, now the twelfth in order, possesseth the Episcopacy of the same.*

If any man doubt whether this Romane Episcopacy were of Apostolicall institution, or not, the substance of *Irenæus* his discourse in that place will beare it well; to which I now remit the ingenuous Reader, because I make hast unto his subsequent discourse, which taketh away all doubt for first plantation of Episcopacy in the Church. For thus he writeth, *Polycarp was not onely taught by the Apostles, and conversed with many of them, who saw the Lord, but was also constituted, by the Apostles, BISHOP in Asia, and in the Church of Smyrna there; whom we also saw in our first age*; being his Disciple, as S. *Hierom* [*de viris illustr.*] doth record.

This testimony is so cleare and ponderous, that it may sufficiently determine the whole cause; if you consider the *Person* (who it is that speaketh) and the *Matter*, which he speaketh. But since nothing is so cleare, which may not seeme obscure, and nothing so ponderous, which may not seeme light to a mind possessed with unreasonable prejudice, I will now further declare, & presse this testimony of *Irenæus*; fencing it also against all objections, which may be framed against it; or against our cause, which doth depend upon it.

First,

First, then, consider with me the Authour, or *Relator* rather, himselfe. Note his *antiquity*: he lived in the time of *Eleutherius*, the twelfth Bishop of Rome; upon the yeere of our Lord * 185. We have few Authors (grave and certaine) now extant, who lived before his time; except *Ignatius* (whose 7. Epistles as they are his owne, and aproved for his by *Vedelius*, and are some of them lately cited by the adversaries of Episcopacy under his name; so they fully expresse the cleare distinction of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, in the first age of the Christian Church) and, after him, of *Justinus Martyr*, who, under the name of ἡγεμὼν (governour, or prefect) doth well discover what *Episcopacy* was in the second age of the Church.

* *Funcl'ius in Chronolog.*

Note then his *quality*. He was an holy man, a learned man, a peaceable man (as it may appeare by his Epistles addressed unto *Victor*, Bishop of the Church of Rome) a constant defendour of the truth, and finally a patient sufferer for the same. What is your exception against him? The late unworthy Authour of a booke intituled, *Of Reformation*, &c. hath found some quarrell against him: but *Feuardentius*, in his apologeticall preface (in the defence of *Irenaeus*) hath well answered such exceptions.

Howbeit, whatsoever errours, (more, or fewer; greater, or lesser) *Irenaeus* had, or had not; it is nothing to the point now in question: for if he erred, it was in a point *dogmaticall*: we are now upon a point *historicall*, viz. Whether this relation of *Irenaeus*, concerning the *Episcopacy* of *Polycarpus*, which he received from the Apostles, be true, or not? Wherein he had information immediately from *Polycarp* himselfe and the whole Church of *Smyrna*, wherein he lived. Who wil, who can who dareth say that *Irenaeus* hath lyed in this report? He knew *Polycarp* very well, and knew undoubtedly that his *Episcopall* office was derived from the Apostles.

why

why should this relation seeme incredible unto you?

The Scriptures themselves informe us so much: For, when S. *John* writeth to the *Angell* of the Church of *Smyrna*; who is this *Angell*? *Polycarp*: So the concordance of Scriptures, and histories; so the judgement of many learned men (& some protestants) do informe us. And why is *Polycarp* here an *Angell*? because he is *præpositus Ecclesiæ*, the Governour or *Bishop* of the Church: many *Presbyters* being therein, but he, in title distinct from them, and in power, superiour to them; as wee may clearely collect out of S. *Augustine*; *epist.* 162. where first he sheweth and proveth, that under the name of *Angels*, are not understood celestiall Angels in these 7. Churches (as *Origen*, and some others following him, did conceive) and then, particularly for the Angell of *Ephesus*, he saith afterward, that he is *præpositus Ecclesiæ*, the governour of the Church; Now since we read of *many Presbyters in Ephesus. Act.* 20. 28. and here of one Angell in it, he must needs be a person, in place, and office, as well as name, distinguished from the common Presbyters of the Church: as *Epiphanius* (more ancient then *Aug.*) doth hence collect and constantly affirme, *Hæres.* 25.

This explication is confirmed by our best Divines; as namely by venerable *Bullinger*, *conc.* 9. *in Apocal.* saying, *An heavenly Epistle is destinated to the Angell of the Church of Smyrna. Now histories doe testifie, that the Angel, or pastor of this Church was Polycarp; ordained a* Bishop *by the Apostles, even by* John *himselfe.* To him I conjoyne worthy *Marlorat*, saying that in *Apoc.* 2. 1, *John* doth not set upon the people, but upon *principem Cleri, utique Episcopum*: the Bishop, Prince, or chiefe of the Clergy (Presbyters and Deacons) in that Church. To both them I adde the famous Clerk, *David Pareus*; who dareth not say (though some doe) that *Timothy* was then the Angell, but denieth not that we was sometimes

times the Angell, or Bishop there: and therefore he putteth there this question in the margine; *Was Timothy Bishop of the Ephesine Church at that time?* He saith *tunc*, then: he saith not *unquam*, at any time: which is a plaine concession, that, in his judgement, *Timothy* was sometimes (as indeed he was) the *Bishop* of that Church. Also in *Apocal.* 3, 1. he confesseth ingenuously (upon evidence of the text) that, under the name of *Angell* there, is to be understood *ANTISTES*, the Chiefe, the Prelate, the Bishop of the Church.

Which resolution of ancient and moderne Divines (to which I adde the judgement of the great Divine D. *Rainolds*; Confer. with Hart. *cap.* 8. *divis.* 3.) is confirmed by the perspicuous evidence of undeniable reason: for, in the Church of *Ephesus* (and so in the rest) why is one man (where many Presbyters were) called an *Angell* specially, but for his speciall eminency above the rest? And why was the *succession* of one man to one observed in Histories, and registred in the *Diptycha* of the Church, rather then of many to many? As here, in the Church of *Ephesus*, of *Smyrna* and the rest, one man singularly is remembred: and why *one*, if this one man did not, in dignity of his place and office therein, excell the common Presbyters, as their Governour and Prefect, placed over these Presbyters by the holy Apostles?

To this effect speaketh *Leontius*, B. of *Magnesia* in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, *Act.* 11. amongst 630. Bishops, that *Memnon*, then B. of *Ephesus* was the 27. Bishop in succession from and after *Timothy*, as being the first Bishop of that Church. For as the subscription of the second Epistle of S. *Paul* to *Timothy* doth directly beare it; so we have a cleare attestation to it from *Eusebius*, l. 3. c. 4. *Epiphanius*, *haeres.* 75. *Chrysostome*; *praefat. in* 1. *ad Timoth. & homil.* 1. *in Epist. ad Philip. Hierome*, *de viris illustr.* * *Primasius*, *pefrat. in* 1 *ep. ad Timoth.* To all which (and others) I may adde *Oecumenius*, who

* *Anno D.* 540.

lived

lived in the yeere 1080. as also *Tertullian*, who intimateth this truth sufficiently in his book of Prescriptions, *cap.* 36, and finally S. *Ambrose*, *præfat. in* 1. *epist. ad Timoth.* but that I esteeme the authour to be a counterfet, whom yet I conceive to be very ancient.

Finally then, to end this point; *Ireneus* hath now related no more touching *Polycarps* Episcopacy, then is warrantable by Scriptures, Fathers, Historians, and our owne Divines. I end therefore with *Hierome*, *ep.* 85. affirming that the Apostles, by their tradition did institute *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in the new Testament, looking unto the answerable degrees of the *High priest*, the inferiour *Priests* and *Levites* in the old; and telling us, in his exposition of *Psal* 45. 16. that *Bishops* are there foretold; as *Aug.* also doth himselfe conceive.

To that ancient *Hierome*, I adde a latter, *vis.* the most learned *Zanchius*, confessing fairely and truely [*Miscellan.* t. 2. *de primatu papæ*, *p.* 193. *impres. Neostadii in* 4. *Anno D.* 1608.] that, in the Church, FIRST Presbyters onely were. SECONDLY, saith he, *additi Episcopi, idque Apostolorum temporibus*; Bishops were added [as being in degree, place and office distinct from Presbyters] and that also was done in the Apostles times. If in *their times*, then by their meanes, as any rationall man may thereupon conclude. For, who durst institute Bishops in their times, without their direction? where, in Scripture, or history, doe they impugne this institution? And if they made not this institution, who made it? What Councell; generall, or provinciall? when? where? produce any evidence of probable truth (I say not certaine) in this behalfe.

And thus having justified the relation of *Ireneus*, concerning the Episcopacy of *Polycarp*, to which the Apostles (and particularly S. *John* did advance him) I proceed to some other poore exceptions against the aforesaid testimony, which need not so large a discussion, as the former; that being the very substance and center of our whole discourse.

A *second* exception is, that, perhaps this place hath beene forged or corrupted. But this objection is of no force, or value. For as this place now standeth in *Irenaus*, so it stood, word for word, in the time of *Eusebius*, upon the yeere 330. who hath thence transcribed it into his Ecclesiasticall history, *lib.4.c.14.* This is an old device of heretickes to say that the place is corrupted, when they cannot answer it; as S. *Augustine* observeth, *Confes. lib.5. c.11.* 2.

A *third* exception is, that *Ireneus* was himselfe a Bishop, and so not a competent witnesse in such a case. Shall then so holy a person be rejected as a lyer? writing otherwise then he saw or heard? This were a desperate evasion, and contemptible; yet followed by the adversaries of Episcopacy, charging the Fathers as partiall in their owne cause. But were they not the principall writers? yet not the onely: for *Tertullian* and *Hierome* were Presbyters only (and not Bishops) whose judgement and testimony I will not decline in this cause. Thus our English Divines are rejected, as being *Bishops*, or affecting Episcopacy, and so their owne Judges. Say what you please; yet I will conclude this passage with the publique protestation of that learned and holy man, D. *Iohn White*, in his Sermon at Pauls Crosse, March 24. 1615. *I protest before God and man; it amazeth me to see such, as can read either* SCRIPTVRE, *or Antiquity, to carpe at it* [Episcopacy] *when the Christian world, for* 1400. *yeeres after Christ, never saw any other government, &c.* 3.

A *fourth* exception is, that *Polycarp* was no Lord Bishop; he had no civill dignity, no temporall power, &c. and therefore very different from the Bishops of our Church. 4.

Truely said, but to little or no purpose. The Christian Church and temporall State were then divided; and

 the

the first was persecuted by the second, till glorious *Constantine* obtained the Imperiall diadem, upon the yeere 316. Afterwards by favour of the Emperour, and other Princes, civill dignity, and temporall power were annexed to Episcopall places, the Church and State being now united together.

I say therefore, FIRST, that Bishops, for three centuries, had no such dignity and power: they were Bishops without it then, and may be Bishops without it now. SECONDLY, that, as the State, for good reasons gave it, so, for good reasons (such as may be, not such as are) may take it away; but Episcopacy it selfe, wch God gave, no man may take away. *Salomon* might exclude *Abiathar* from his Priesthood, but the Priesthood he could not dissolve. I speake not now of absolute power, but lawfull power in the State; for *id possumus, quod jure possumus*, & no more. THIRDLY, that temporall power, annexed to Episcopall function, may not onely adorne it, but strengthen it, for the benefit of Church, and Common wealth. FOVRTHLY, that Bishops are capeable of this dignity, and power; as *Zanchius* observeth well, *Epist. tom. 1. ad Ioh. Stuckium*; saying, that, since in the old Testament, one man [the High priest] exercised both powers (spirituall and temporall) *Non ergo per se pugnant*; these two therefore [to be a Bishop and a civill Potentate] doe not, of themselves, the one oppugne the other, but may both concurre in one person: and then addeth, that, *in writing the Confession of his Faith* (upon occasion whereof this question did arise) *he was to have a regard of those Reformed Churches, wherein many* [as Bishops in England] *have a temporall power conjoyned with their spirituall office.* FIFTLY, and lastly, I demand of the adversaries of Episcopacy: If Bishops shall be excluded from civill dignity, temporal power, &c. will you rest so content? & shall our Bishops yet retaine their spirituall office of superiority over Presbyters, with such authority in the Church, as Christian

ſtian *Bi*ſhops did obtaine, and exerciſe therein, from and in the Apoſtolicall times, and in the ſucceeding ages of the primitive Church? No, but you would caſt them wholly out of the Church, or leave them an empty title without a reall office; which, in the perpetuall diſcourſe of all ages, they have enjoyed in the univerſall Church.

To conclude: if malice in ſome did not envie their honour, and avarice in others their eſtates, this exception were eaſily anſwered: but howſoever it be, *Bi*ſhops they are lawfully with both, and *Bi*ſhops they may be truely without either.

A *fift* exception is, that *Polycarp* (as alſo *Ignatius* and other *Bi*ſhops; ſuch as they were) might perhaps have *a priority of place* before Presbyters, but not *a ſuperiority of power* above them. 5.

A weake pretenſe againſt the knowne teſtimony, and certaine experience of all ages, for proofe whereof, I remit you unto S. *Hierome* (the ſuppoſed adverſary of *Bi*ſhops) who in the very place, ſo often produced againſt Epiſcopacy, [*viz. in Tit.* 1. 5.] ſaith that the *Bi*ſhop was *ſupraposítus*, placed above the Presbyters of his Church. This is more, then he ſaid, Epiſt. 85. that he was *præpoſitus*, which perhaps you will render in Engliſh; *placed before* them) though, in truth, it be no leſſe.

And to make all cleare in this point, he ſaith yet further, *Contra Luciferianos, cap.* 4. *The ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of the Biſhop. Unleſſe an eminent, and peereleſſe* power *be given to him by all men, there will be as many ſchiſmes as Prieſts, in the Church.* Whereupon it is, that in his inſtructions to *Nepotianus*, hee ſaith very *well*; *What Aaron and his ſonnes once were, that we muſt know Biſhops and Presbyters now are*: *viz.* in diſtinction, office, and degree, and whence it is that, as in S. *Ignatius* firſt, ſo in other Authours afterward, through all ages of the Chriſtian Church *Biſhops, Pres-*

byters, and *Deacons* are three distinct kinds in office, and degree; the first above the second, and the second above the third: and not *weekely*, *monthly*, *yeerely* Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; but perpetually, during the time of their lives.

6. The SIXT and last exception is yet more important, for you will say (as some have said) that they, who in the third chapter, are called *Bishops* by *Irenaeus*, are in the second chapter called *Presbyters*; and so *Polycarp*, though called here a *Bishop*, is but a *Presbyter*; since Presbyters also are so called, *Act.*20.28. *Phil.*1.1. &c.

I answer. It is true; these *Bishops* here are called *Presbyters* before: but how? with an evident distinction from common Presbyters: for when *Irenaeus*, from *Peter* and *Paul*, reckoneth a succession of 12. *Bishops* in the Church of Rome; I demand: had these *Bishops* no certaine distinction from other Presbyters in that Church? I shewed before that their personall and lineall succession is observed by *Irenaeus*, and others: why? because they had a reall difference from all the Presbyters therein.

This point is cleared by many evidences; amongst which, for brevity sake, I produce the * Epistle of the Presbyters and Deacons of the Romane Church, written to S. *Cyprian* (upon the yeere 252.) wherein they say, that *FABIAN* their late Bishop [the 19. in that place] was lately put to death; and that for the difficulty of the times, another Bishop was not yet constituted; who might moderate the affaires of the Church, and by his *authority* and counsell, might take care of such as were fallen in the time of persecution.

* *Cyprian ep.*31. *edit.*1. *Pamelii.*

I argue then, As *Fabian* lately was, and his successour shortly must be, in a distinct place of government above the Presbyters of Rome, so was *Eleutherius* (and so were his predecessours before) a *BISHOP* in higher place, of greater power, above other Presbyters in the Romane Church.

For

For conclusion therefore of this point; I pray you, in all candor and ingenuity, to consider with me, that, though Presbyters, in the beginning (when as yet they had no *Bishop* over them) were called, and might be truely called *Bishops* (that is to say, *overseers*; for they did, then under the Apostles, *oversee* the Church, for a little time) yet, when *the care of the whole Church came peculiarly to the Bishop* (as *Hierome* saith in *Tit.* 1.5.) this name was peculiarly attributed unto him, and not communicated unto them: witnesse the same S. *Hierom ep.* 85. where by particular instance, he maketh the election of Bishops in the Church of *Alexandria*, and saith; that from *Marke* the Evangelist unto *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, the Presbyters electing one of their company and placing him in a *higher degree* [note that by the way] called him their *BISHOP*. So that here the name of a *Bishop* (by good authority, and for good reason) once common to all the *Presbyters*, is now proper unto that Presbyter, who was placed in an *higher degree* above the rest; which *Calvin* also hath well observed; *Inst. l.*4.*c.*4. *sect.* 1. & 2. saying that in the old Church, the title of *Bishop* was specially given to one Presbyter: chosen out of the number of many.

To conclude then; you shall finde sometimes in Antiquity, that a *Bishop* is called a *Presbyter*: but can you finde that any where a Presbyter is called a *Bishop*? I am no stranger in the Councels, Fathers, and Histories, (in which course of studies being now 62. yeeres old, I have spent a moiety of my age) & yet I can remember no such thing: and were a Presbyter so called, it were rather by *force of the word*, (which importeth *overseeing*) then by *propriety of speech*; since, in Ecclesiasticall use, the name of *Bishop* is appropriated to him, who hath a *generall oversight* (for the Clergy and Laity) in his owne Diocesse or precinct.

Finally then, *as the High priest* in the law is sometimes styled simply by the name of the *Priest*, but yet was above

above other Priests in the old Testament, so a *Bishop* is sometimes stiled by the name of a *Presbyter*, but yet is above other Presbyters in the new.

A Conclusion.

Thus, at the length, having cleared the testimony of *Irenaus*, touching the *Episcopacy* of *Polycarp* (committed unto him by the holy Apostles, and particularly by S. *John*) from all exceptions (as I conceive) which some adversaries of Episcopacy have taken, and some may take against it, I thus conclude my whole discourse, and bring it to the present purpose; *viz. A Bishop, in the Church of England, doth not unjustly usurpe an office therein by humane institution, but doth justly possesse it by* * *divine right; notwithstanding all malicious scoffes, and unlearned cavils, against so ancient, so venerable, so necessary an Office in the Church of God.*

* The exercise and execution of his office, in this or that place, a Bishop hath by the favour of the Prince.

Now if any man shall except against this discourse, as prejudiciall to some Reformed Churches, I answer, that my care hath beene to justifie ours, but my desire was not to impugne theirs: and that I am as tenderly affected to retaine communion with the ancient and Universall Church, as with any later, and particular Church: though in the truth, and for the truth, I love and embrace all Reformed Churches, for which I have a more copious defence, which may ensue hereafter; this discourse being onely the *prodromus*, or forerunner of a more ample Treatise, which I have composed to maintaine *Episcopacy*; under which I live in peace, and without which I cannot live with comfort.

FINIS.

A

I

Bishops
but yet is

mony of
comunic-
larly by
ch some
me may
rse, and
, in the
e there-
by * di-
and un-
necessary

course,
nswer,
desire
enderly
ent and
ticular
I love
I have
er; this
ner of
main-
with-

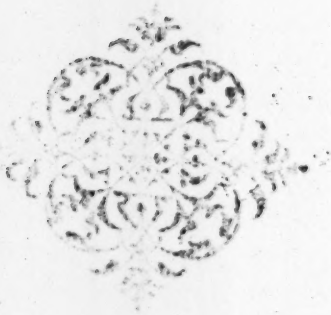
14.

K Hyde

Mr: HIDES ARGVMENT BEFORE THE LORDS IN THE VPPER HOVSE of Parliament.

Aprill 1641.

Printed in the yeare, 1641.



Mr. HIDES ARGVMENT Before the LORDS in the upper House of *Parliament*.

Aprill. 1641.

MY Lords, I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons to present to your Lordships a great and crying grievance, which though it be complayned of in the present pressures, but by the northern parts, yet by the Logick and Consequence of it, it is the grievance of the whole Kingdome. The Court of the Presidents, and Counsell of the North, or as it is more usually called, the Courts of Yorke, which by the spirit and ambition of the Ministers, trusted there, or by the naturall Inclination of Courts to inlarge their owne power and Iurisdiction,

hath ſo prodigiouſly brake downe the bankes of the firſt Councell, in which it ranne, that it hath almoſt over-whelmed that Countrey under the Sea of Arbitrary power, and involved the people in a Laberynth of diſtemper, oppreſſion and poverty.

Your Lordſhips will give mee leave not with preſumption to informe your great underſtandings, but that you may know what moved the houſe of Commons to their reſolutions to remember your Lordſhips of the foundation, and erecting this Court, and of the progreſſe and growth of it.

Your Lordſhips well know, that upon the ſuppreſſion of all religious houſes to ſucha valew in the 27 yeare of *H.* 8. from that time to the thirtieth yeare of that Kings raigne, many (not fewer then ſixe Inſurrections) and Rebellions were made in the Northerne parts, under pretence of that quarrell, moſt of them under the command of ſome eminent perſonof that Countrey, the which being quieted before the end of the thirtieth yeare, that great King well knowing his owne mind, and what hee meant to doe with the great Houſes of Religion; in the yeare following for prevention of any inconvenience that might enſue tohim upon ſuch diſtemper, in the 31. yeare of his Reign granted a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Landaffe*, the firſt Preſident, and others for the quiet go-

vernment

vernment of the County of *Yorke*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, the Bishopricke of *Durham*, the counties of the Cities of *Yorke*, *Kingston* upon *Hull*, and *New castle* upon *Tyne*. But my Lords this Commission was no other then a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, onely it had a clause at the end of it, for the hearing of all causes reall and person, *quando ambæ partes, vel altera pars sic gravata paupertate fuerit, quod quomodo vis suum secundum legem Regni nostri, aliter persequi non possit*, which clause how illegall soever, for that it is illegall and voyd in Law, little doubt can be made yet whether they exercise that part of the Commission at all, or so sparingly exercised it, that poore people found ease and benefit by it. I know not, but at that time I find no complaint against it, till the comming in of King *Iames* the Commission continued still the same, and that in the first yeare of his Reigne to the Lord *Sheffeild* varied no otherwise from the former, saue, onely it had reference to Instructions which should be sent, though any new sent or no is uncertaine, but wee can find none.

In *Iune*, in the seventh yeare of the Reigne of King *James* a new Commission was granted to the same man (the Lord *Sheffeild*) very differing from all that went before, it being left out, that they should enquire *per sacramentum bonorum & legalium hominum*, and to heare de-

determine *secundum leges Angliæ*, Relation being had onely to the Instructions, which were the first Instructions, wee can find were sent thither, though I told your Lordships there were some mentions of some In 1. I shall not trouble your Lordships with these Instructions, nor with the other that followed in 14. *Iacobi* to the same man, nor in 16. *Iacobi*, when a new Commission was granted to my Lord *Sunderland*, nor indeed with any till we come to these present Instructions, and Commissions under which that part of the Kingdome groans and languisheth.

My Lord of *Strafford* came to that government in *Decemb.* 4. *Caroli*, and since the Commission hath beene three severall times removed, in the fift yeare in *March*, in the eighth in *Novemb.* in the thirteenth yeare of his Majesties raigne into that Commission of 8. and 13. a new clause served in for the granting, sequestring, and establishing Possessions according to instructions, crowded in a Masse of new exorbitant and intollerable power, though our complaint be against this Commission it selfe, and against the whole body of those instructions: I shall not mispend your Lordships pretious time in desiring to have the whole read, but shall presume to trouble your Lordships only with five or six of the instructions, that by the vast irregularity of those your

Lord-

Lordſhips may judge, how inſupportable the whole burthen is. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with the ninth Inſtruction, though it be but ſhort, which introduceth that, *miſeram ſervitatem, ubi jus eſt vagum, & incognitum*, by requiring an obedience to ſuch ordinances, and determinations, as be or ſhall bee made by the Councell Table, or high Commiſſion Court. A grievance my Lords, howſoever *conſuetudo & peccantum claritas nobilitaverit hanc culpam*, of ſo tranſcendent a nature, that your Lordſhips noble Iuſtice wil provide a remedy for it, with no leſſe care, then you would reſcue the life and blood of the Common-wealth.

Reade the 19. 22, 23, 24. 29. and 30. I will not trouble your Lordſhips with reading more, there being among them in the whole 58. Inſtructions, ſcarce one that is not againſt, or beſides the Law.

Whether His Majeſtie may caution out a part of his Kingdome to be tryed by Commiſſion, though according to the rules of Law, ſince the whole Kingdome is under the Lawes and government of the Courts eſtabliſhed at *Weſtminſter*, and by this reaſon the ſeverall parts of the Kingdome may bee deprived of that priviledge, will not bee now the queſtion; that his Majeſtie cannot by Commiſſion erect a new court of Chancery, or a proceeding according to the rules of the Star-chamber, as moſt clear

to

to all who have read *Magna Charta*; which allowed no proceedings, *nisi per legale judicium parium & per legem terræ*: for our court of Chancery heare by long usage and proscription is growne to bee as it were *lex terra*. But my Lords, the thirtieth Instruction goes further, and erects such an Emprie, such a Dominion, as shall bee lyable to no contrary.

The Courts of *Westminster*, my Lords have superintendences over all inferiour Courts to regulate their jurisdictions, if they exceed their limits. As to hold Plea of greater valew, or the like in his exercise of Iurisdiction, the Iudges are sworne to grant, and send prohibitions, and to stop the granting of these prohibitions, or to neglect them, when they are granted, is the greatest and boldest scorne of the Law, and the Law-makers that can be imagined.

The Kings Courts at *Westminster*, having bin alwayes of that awefull and reverent esteeme, with inferiour Iudges, that the Instances of such contempts against them are very rare and exemplary in the punishment.

The Bishop of *Norwich* in Trinity Terme, in the twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third, in *Rot*.289 in the common Pleas in *Hillary* Terme 21. in the Kings Bench, was attached for disobeying a prohibition at the sute of *Stracill*, upon full and solemne dissension of the whole matter,

ter, the Court resolved, that the proceedings of the Bishop were in *obedientiam & diminucorem Domini, & potestatis Regiæ authoritatis suæ lectionem & coronæ suæ exhereditationem manifestum, &c.* As the words of the Records are, and therefore adjudged the temporall tyes of the Bishop to be seised into the Kings hand, and great, verely great dammages to bee paid to Plaintiffes: And whosoever gave directions for these stout Instructions, might have remembred that no longer since then *Michaelmas*, in the seventh yeare of *Eliz. Rot.* 31. An Attachment was graunted against the Archbishop of *Yorke* then President of that Counsell, for forbidding the Goaler of *Yorke* to deliver one *Lambert* his Prisoner, who was sent for by a *habeas corpus* from the Kings Bench, and if they would have believed the resolution of all the Iudges in *England*, in Trinity Term, in the 6. yeare of King *Iames*, they would have knowne how unfit it had beene to enlarge that Iurisdiction, since most of their proceedings being of an inferiour nature to what they are now growne, were then declared to be illegall & inconsistant with the liberty of the Subject.

And can such a court, as this my Lords deserve to live? what a compendious abridgement hath *Yorke* gotten of all the courts in *Westminster* Hall, whatsoever fals within the cognizance, or jurisdiction of either courts here

is compleatly determinable within, that one Court at *Yorke*, besides the power it hath with the Ecclesiasticall and high Commission courts.

What hath the good Northern people done, that they onely must be disfranchised of all their priviledges by *Magna Charta*, and the Petition of right, for to what purpose serve these Statutes, if they may be fined and imprisoned without Law, according to the discretion of the Commissioners, what have they done, that they, and they alone of all the people of this happy Iland must be disinherited of their birth-right, of their Inheritance. For prohibitions, writs of *Habeas Corpus*, writs of erour are the birth-right, the inheritance of the Subjects.

And 'tis here worth your Lordships observation, that to those many prohibitions, which have beene granted from above, for till of late, the court of *Yorke* had not the courage to dispose prohibitions, nor indeed till our courts here, had not the courage to grant them. T'was never knowne, that court pleaded the Iurisdiction of their counsell, which without doubt they would have done upon the advantage of many great persons, in whose protection they have alwayes beene, had they not knowne the Law, could not be misinterpreted enough to allow it.

Your

Your Lordſhips remember the directions I mentioned of *Magna Charta*, that all proceedings ſhall be *per legale Iudicium parium, & per legem terræ*, now theſe Jurisdictions tell you, you ſhall proceed according to your diſcretion that is, you ſhall doe what your pleaſe, onely that wee may not ſuſpect this diſcretion will be gentler and kinder to us then the Lawe: ſpeciall proviſion is made no fine, no puniſhment ſhall be leſſe then by the Law is appointed, by no meanes, but as much greater, as your diſcretion ſhall thinke fit; and indeed in this Improvement wee find: Arbitrary courts are very pregnant, if the Law requires my good behaviour, this diſcretion makes mee cloſe Priſoner, if the Law ſets me upon the Pillory, this diſcretion appoints me to leave my eares there.

But this proceeding according to diſcretion is no new expreſſion, twas in the firſt commiſſion I told your Lordſhips of in the 31. *Hen.* 8. that they ſhould proceed *ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem Regni Angliæ vel aliter ſecundum ſanas diſcretiones veſtras*, which in the interpretation of the Law, and that is the beſt interpretation, ſignifies the ſame thing, to proceed according to diſcretion, is to proceed according to Law, which is *ſumma diſcretio*, but not according to their private conceit or affection, For *talis diſcretio* (ſayes the Law) *diſcretionem*

confundit: and such a confusion hath this discretion in these Instructions produced, as if discretion were onely removed from rage and fury, no inconvenience, no mischiefe, no disgrace, that the malice or insolence, or curiosity of these commissioners had a mind to bring upon that people, but through the latitude and power of this discretion the poore people have felt this discretion, hath beene the quicke sound which hath swallowed up their property, their liberty: I beseech your Lordships rescue them from this discretion.

Besides, the charge that this Court is to his Majesty, which is neere 1300. l. *per annum*, your Lordships will easily guesse, what an unsupportable burthen the many officers (whose places are of great valew) the Atturnies, Clarkes, Registers, and above 1000 Sollicitors that attend the Courts, must bee to that people (insomuch) that in truth the whole countrey seemes to be divided into the Officers and Dependants upon that Court: And the people upon whom these Officers of that Court prey and commit rapines, as he said in *Patronius*, *Omnes hic aut captantur, aut captunt; aut cadavere quæ lacerentur, aut corni quæ laterunt.* Truly my Lords, these vexed worne-people of the North are not sutors to your Lordships, to regulate this Court, or to reforme the Iudges of it, but for extripating these

Iudges

Iudges, and the utter aboliſhing this Court, they are of *Catoes* mind, who would not ſubmit to *Cæſar* for his life, ſaying, he would not be beholding to a Tyrant for injuſtice, for it was injuſtice in him to take upon him to ſave a mans life, over whom hee had no power.

So theſe Gentlemen deſire not to be beholding to this Court hereafter for injuſtice. The very adminiſtration of injuſtice, founded upon ſuch illegall principles being a grievance and oppreſſion to the ſubject.

Firſt upon the whole matter the houſe of Commons is of opinion, that the Commiſſion and Inſtructions whereby the Reſident and Counſell of the North, exerciſe a Iuriſdiction is illegall, both in the creation and execution.

Secondly, that it is improfitable to his Majeſty, for beſides ſo much neere thirteene hundred pound taken out of His Majeſties revenues, every yeare His Majeſtie looſeth the great benefit would accrew to him upon writs and upon Fines, upon Out-lawes, and other profits, which redound to his Majeſtie out of his Court here.

And which I had almoſt forgot to tell your Lordſhips of, that his Majeſty may bee ſure to have benefit from that Court (notable care is taken, by the fifty three Inſtructions, that if any money remaines over and above all

all disbursements, it shall be bestowed in providing Houshold-stuffe, and furniture for the house, where the Lord President and Counsell use to be.

And lastly, that it is inconvenient and grievous to His Majesties subjects of those parts.

And therefore they are humble Sutors to your Lordships, and the house of commons, on this behalfe, that since this people doe and have in all matters of duty and affection contend with the best of His Majesties subjects, that they may not be distinguished from them in the manner of His Majesties Iustice and protection, since this court originally instituted and continued by his Majesty, for the ease and benefit of his subjects, is apparently inverted to the burthen and discomfort of them that your Lordships will joyne with, the House of commons in beseeching His Majesty, that the present commission may be revoked, and no more such granted for the future.

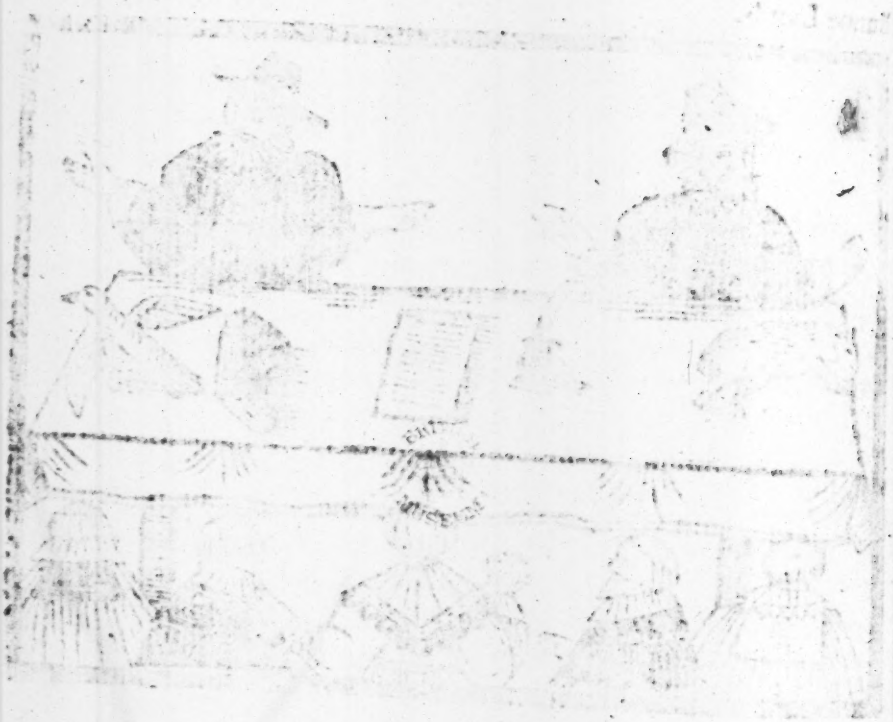
FINIS.

7

The Spirituall Courts epitomized, in a Dialogue betwixt two Proctors, *Busie Body*, and *Scrapeall*, and their discourse of the want of their former imployment.

Runne Lamb. Fly Duck.

Printed 1641.



THE Spirituall Courts, EPITOMIZED.

Busie body.

WEe are utterly undone, this Parliament hath not only rendred us contemptible to the world, but hath deprived us of our practice: the Kings Advocate hath not got a fee for an *Ex Officio* businesse this halfe yeere: my selfe have drawne no Articles against one that repeated Sermons with his family this twelve-moneth: my Lord of *Canterbury*, might have spared the making of a table of fees, hee needed not to have turn'd out the Register for extortion, unlesse the issue had bin better.

Scrap all, 'Tis true M. *Busie body*, but we doe not suffer an Eclipse in the high Commission onely, but in all other Courts. *Bow Church* that on a Court day us'd to be fuller then at a Sermon on a Sunday, and the Audience Court in *Pauls*, where a man could not heare with his owne eares: the Prerogative, Consistory, and Arch-Deacons, with the Deane and Chapters Courts, that were wont to be crowdded like money into an Usu-

rers bag, are very quiet and peaceable now; we cannot talke false Latine now, but it will bee understood, wee cannot get ten pounds in part for the probate of a wil, as corpulent M Copper-nose our Brother, the English Proctor could, we cannot put *Ponsonbies* name to Articles, for incontinency, with the privity of the Judge, as heretofore we could; and then compound for the penance our selves, as we have done with the Judge before for his sentence.

Busie-body. No more can we send our Messengers into the Countrey, that pry into peoples actions there, as Alderman *Abells* spirits would into a But of unlicensed wine. You know when many Articles were drawne in the name of *me necessarii promotoris Officii*, against any that we knew was rich, upon no ground at all, but hope that he would refuse to take his oath, either to accuse or forsweare himselfe, if he did refuse, then we would be paid our fees; M. Advocate for perusing and subscribing the Articles, a Peece, thats two fees, when it was all but one labour, my selfe for drawing 'm, running up and downe, sending my man, and twenty pains more, that Heaven knowes I never tooke, my fees treble, and the Office would be carefull enough for their fees, for expedition for extraordinary attendãce, bonds and twenty things more, they would not want much of twenty times their fees, and then bee remaining obstinate, my Lords Grace would deale with him as he did with others, into prison with him, no redemption. O money causes were pure good ones; a parson would spend more money, by delay, then the benefice is worth. We could not endure Alimonie, many of them were *in forma pauperis.*

Scrape-all. A pox upon'em, I had rather the Judge wold have given sentence against my Clyent then bestowed a *Pauper* on me, I am sure the creature if he follow'd not his own busines better then I, he would have a cold bargaine of it, for my part I fitted him, but sometimes he would present a *George* or the like to my man, and if he lookt after it so, if not *Vale pauper*, I got very well by a wench that has beene undone in a darke entry. Sir *John* would commit her penance into ten pounds, towards the repaire of *Pauls*, and then we would share it. A shop doore could not be open on a holy-day, but the next Sunday the Churchwas saluted with a *Coram nobis*, and if he did not appeare, whether he heard of it or no, *Dominus eum in scriptis excommunicavit.* Let him appeare when he would, he must tender downe his contumacie fees, or he remaines and is accounted *pro excommunicato*, and when he is restor'd *Christi fidelium*, he must pay the Officers fees, faith such businesses were pretty toyes.

Busie-body. And I have gain'd well by a poore will, when the estate has not amounted to above fortie pounds, I would perswade the executor for confirmation to prove it *per testes*, but first it must be proved in *Communi forma*, and by that time some twenty markes or such a sum would redound to me out o'the forty, I ne're car'd much for an Administration.

Scrape-all. But I did, for I would get more by it, the Inventary (which my man should ingrose, as if one word were affraid of another) the account & the *quietus est*, and the gratuity, (which I never fayld of) then you could by an Ordinary will. All *Bloomsbury*, *Covengarden*, *Long-acre*, *Beech-lane*, were as fearefull of me, as of a

Constable or Justice-*Long*, many a time have I slept in with'em for my fees, and have had all content possible. I should have thought it an ill day i'the vocation if I had not got a peece.

Busie-body. Oh brother you would not beleeve how I delighted in a Commission, which I would goe into th' Country withall, and expedite, and if they would not give me ten pounds for it, (which if a Country Proctor had done, he would not have required above a peece) I would not make many delayes for the matter, but have got it taxt by any Surrogate (whom I could perswade) to twelve or foureteene pounds, a motion flies downe and an excommunication after it, and so I liv'd in as much state as *Augustus Cæsar*, or'e your Country, Commissions would afford good profit.

Scrape-all. Faith brother, and I have cheated many of my brethren inth' Country, who used to send me up businesses ready roasted, I would pretend caveats were entred, and detaine the businesse in my hands a weeke longer then the time, and then make them pay me as fully for them, as if my man had ingrost them himselfe.

Busie-body. O but I was as good at an appeale as could be, for when the cause was ready for sentence, if I thought the adverse party would not appeale, if sentence went against him, I would perswade the Judge to give sentence against my Client, and then I would be sure to appeale, and when I had appealed, my Bill would exceed a Taylors; there would be *Pro solicitatione*, *pro sportulagio pro privato sigillo*, and *pro* twenty things more that were never done. A notable merry fellow had a poore cause appealed thrice; and then the adverse party got a Commission of review my Client, still having

ving ſentence, which when he told, how his enemy had appealed ſo often, and was yet gone further; ſayes he, *I* have a Proctor that will follow to th'Divell, (if *I* whip him with a ſilver Laſh. And on my conſcience *I* ſhould have lookt as ſcurvily upon a poore Client as a Beggar does upon a Beadle, or a whipping poſt, for Gods ſake brother how long is it ſince theſe bleſſings faild?

Scrape-all. Faith ever ſince the Parliament begun, or rather before. At the viſitation at Saint *Magnus* Church, when Doctor *Ducke* was hunted dry foot into the water, where had he not dived, the Spanels, would have tore him in peeces, they catcht hold of his legs and made them ſwell extreamely, ever ſince that time we have bin held in moſt ſpeciall contempt; your whores that would have hang'd themſelves before to pleaſe us, now call us civill villaines, our Law, the bawdy Courts, and they that have preſerv'd our Bills, now ſhow them us, and expect reſtoration, nay the *ultimum refugium* fails us now. That is, to bring a boy with fifty or threeſcore pounds, or within a yeer or two turne him away, but keepe his monie; this is a blacke tune for us: ten groats give in a licence now makes me as jocound as a gratuity of ten pound would before. Can not you deviſe what courſe is to be taken?

Buſie-body. Now, *If I* could draw a prohibition, *I'de* leave my Sheepskin-hood, and convert it into a Buckram bag, a *Weſtminſter* Atturney lives a Kings life now, however *I* am (if the oath *&c.* ſhot out of our new Canons does not ſtrik us quite dead) get acquaintance with pariſh Clearks, & keep a horſe that can ſmel out a teſtament, if my brother Coppernoſe would die once, *I* would

would be made free of the Girdlers, and beg the probation of Citizens and Aldermens wils: if all faile me, Ile flye after Doctor *Roane* into *France*, and than wee'l eate Capons and revive our living.

FINIS.

L

O

ou

the

for

up

of

I

T

co
br

THE DOWN-FALL OF ANTI-CHRIST:

OR, THE POWVER OF PREACHING, to pull down POPERY.

In a briefe *Treatise* on 2. *Thessal.* 2 8.

And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his Mouth, and shall destroy with the brightnesse of his comming.

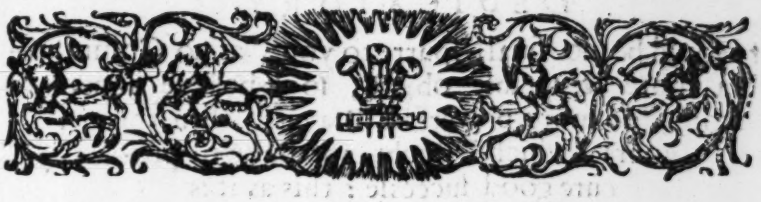
BY
JOHN GEREE, Pastour of *Tewkesbury*, in GLOCESTER-Shire.

London, Printed for *Thomas Vnderhill*, 1641.

R

Most

carr
of t
cam
whi
you
with
on v
any
wor
that
dea
ous
the
ver
tat.



TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL JOHN WHITE, Esquire, and to the rest of that Honourable Committee for RELIGION.

Most worthy Sir,

MAny yeares agoe, a Parliament sitting, I began this Treatise, thereby to have added my coale from the Word, which is as fire to have kindled Zeale, where there was power for the promoting of Preaching, which Parliament miscarrying, made this birth then abortive: But when the fame of this Honourable Committee in this happie Parliament came abroad, I was againe encouraged to consummate that, which before was inchoate: and now most worthy Sir, to you I send it, if it may any whit encourage you to goe on with your glorious designe, who have encouraged me to go on with this meane piece; what greater encouragement to any worke, then evidence when it is finished it will bee of worth to answer the labour? This Treatise will demonstrate, that if you set up Preaching, you give Popery her most deadly and uncurable wound: and what can be a more glorious work? did you know with what joy, & prayers to God, the designment of your Committee for this purpose, did every where provoke, you would easily conjecture what exultation and *Hallelujahs* the effecting of it would produce, and

that would be no ſmall ſpurre to you: as no Committee hath a more acceptable object, ſo I believe none hath more, or more powerfull Prayers, then this of yours, which I doubt not but will procure good ſucceſſe: this as it is the Confidence, ſo the daily Prayers of

Your Worſhips Servant in

the *Lord Ieſus Chriſt,*

JOHN GEREE.

THE

THE DOWNFALL OF ANTI-CHRIST.

2 Thes. 2. 8.

And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shal consume with the Spirit of his Mouth.

THis Prophesie is now fulfilled, and so cleared: Prophesies cease to be Mysteries, when by accomplishment they become Histories.

While this wicked one was obscured, so was this Text, but when his person was revealed, this Text was unvayled: hence the difference betweene Divines, ancient and moderne, about this wicked one; they could not see him because he was hid, so some of them mistooke the Cloath for the picture, the let for him that should have beene revealed, supposing *Nero* to have beene that wicked one. Others of the Ancients, though in the *Question quid*, and *qualis sit Anti-christus*, what, and what-like Antichrist should bee: they spake appositely, yet in the question *quis sit*, who should be this wicked one, they having onely mysticall Visions, not performances, there they were missed, and mistooke.

But the later Divines look't on after the Let was removed, and this

this wicked one revealed, and so to them it was as easie to know him, as it was difficult to the other, as a riddle is easie after it is read, as a Mathematicall conclusion plaine, after it is demonstrated.

And here by the way we see a sound reason suggested, why though in other things we give a preheminence to antiquity; yet in this, touching the person of Anti-Christ, we attribute more to ages neare us. For the ancient Fathers looked on this wicked one, not onely through a mist, but at a great distance, both impediments to sight: But our Divines saw him, both with clearer light, and nearer, they saw him *coram*, face to face as it were, not through a Mystery, darkely, and therefore might give more sure information; according to that of *Austine*, Prophesies are sooner fulfilled then understood.

Iohn the *Baptist* was in many things equall to the greatest, yet in one thing, the least in the Kingdome of Heaven was greater then he, to wit, in unfolding the mysteries of the *Messiah*, because they saw all things accomplished concerning him: So men, farre inferiour to the Fathers in Learning, and other indowments, may be greater than they in this point touching Anti-Christ, because what the former studied in the Revelation, these saw in the exhibition of this man of Sinne.

Now later Divines generally (save such as have received the marke of the beast in their hands or fore-heads) as they understand by this man of sin, the Antichrist: so by the Anti-Christ, the succession of the Popes of *Rome*, who once revealed, must not endure ever, that is the property and prerogative of Christs Kingdome, not of Antichristian Tyranny. But he shall be consumed, of whom? the Lord: by what? The spirit of his mouth: and what is that in the judgement of the best interpretours, but the Preaching of the Gospell?

Anti-Christs Revelation could not be hindred, because God had decreed it, nor shall his consumption be prevented, because God will worke it. God workes by meanes, happy is he whom God vouchsafes the honour to be an instrument of this desired ruine.

Whosoever loves holinesse, must wish and endeavour the ruine of AntiChrists Kingdome, because he is ὁ ἄνομος the lawlesse. Whosoever loves the Lord Christ (as all doe who are not accurst) must oppose this man of sinne, because he is ὁ Ἀντίχριστος the Antichrist: but he that opposeth Antichrist, must labour to use the right meanes, least he builds up while he intends to destroy. And what the right meanes is, this text discovers, holding forth to us this spirituall truth.

Th:

The spirit of Gods mouth, that is, the preaching of the Gospel is the best means bring to Anti-christ and his Kingdome into such a consumption that will afterwards end in abolition. *Observ.*

Rev. 14, 6. No sooner was one Angell seene in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospell to preach unto them that dwell on the earth: but presently there followed another Angell saying, *Babylon is fallen, is fallen*, that great City *&c.* plainely showing that the preaching of the Gospell ushers in the ruine of the Seat, and so of Anti-christ himselfe. Many arguments may be gathered to confirme this spirituall truth: as,

1. Gods meanes are alwayes best to effect his owne worke, and is not this of his prescription? God is the wisest worker, he knoweth the nature of every thing, and the power of every instrument, and therefore cannot erre in the designment of meanes, for the accomplishment of any matter. Nay, as Gods word is operative, so is his designement. His word can give being unto things, and his choice impresse vertue on the meanes to effect the end; and therefore when any meanes is designed of God, we cannot without detracting from God, deny it to be most fit to effect the end, for either he designed it because it is fit: or it becomes fit, because he hath designed it, Gods prescription then doth certainly evince, that there's no such blast to make Anti-christ wither, as this spirit of Gods mouth, the preaching of the Gospell. *Argum.* 1.

2. That which is fittest to build up the Kingdome of Christ, is fittest to destroy Anti-christs throne, for these are *Contraries, & contrariorum contraria sunt prædicata.* Now what is the essentiall pillar of Christs Kingdome? what begins it, upholds it, encreaseth it, but the preaching of the Gospell? By this the Apostles planted Churches, and succeeding Pastours watered and cherisht them. When *David*, and the house of *Saul* had both Thrones in one Kingdome, what strengthned the one, *eadem operâ*, weakned the other: So it is betweene the Kingdome of Christ and Anti-christ, *Generatio unius est corruptio alterius*: The ones raising, is the others ruine. *Argum.* 2.

3. What is most contrary to the efficient or producing cause of any thing, must needs be most destructive of that thing. For as *contraries* have contrary *prædicates*: so have they contrary effects also, one contrary destroying what another brings forth. Now what begat or brought Popery to its height, but ignorance and suppressing of the word of God? this superstition raigning and domineering then most, when preaching of the word was least? Therefore what ignorance of *Argum.* 3.

 the

the word begat *viz.* this monster so sin, the light and plaine setting up of the word, must needs be fittest to consume.

Argum. 4. 4. Every thing hath its spheare in working, and things worke best on things of the same nature. *Corpus non agit in animam nisi indirecte*, Antichristianisme is a spirituall evill, and so spirituall meanes should be most operative against it: Now this spirit of Gods mouth is not a carnall, but a spirituall weapon. 2. *Cor.* 10. 4. 5. and mighty through God to throw downe strong holds, even the spirituall holds of Anti-christs, and the Divells Kingdome.

Argum. 5. 5. That which is the best meanes to destroy sin, must needs be most operative in the destruction of the man of sin, for *esse dat nomen*, his name is from his nature, sin gives him being, as well as denomination, but by the word sin is destroyed. By the Law comes the knowledge of sin, and knowledge of sin is a good degree to the cure. For *penitus scisse est penitus odisse*, and *odium is affectus aversationis*, one cannot rightly know it, but will truly hate it, and one cannot practise what they hate. *Ioh.* 17. 17. *Sanctifie them by thy truth, thy word is truth. To sanctifie is nothing, but to cleanse from sinne.*

Argum 6. 6. And what else can be the reason, why the Pope and Papists are such enemies to the word of God, both read and preached? Is it not because they perceive its an enemy to them? doe they not confesse the reason why they suppresse it to be, because it makes Hereticks, as they terme them? that indeed, makes them leave the Ly of Popery, which is discovered by that, and embrace those truths, which are more consonant to that blessed rule. And if the word read be so terrible to, for powerfull against Anti-christ, what is the word preach't, but much more effectuall? For tho the word as it is read, be of more authority, yet as it preached, so being expounded and applied, becomes of more power and efficacy.

Argum. 7. 7. And doth not experience confirme this? what did? what doth give the greatest blow to Popery? was not the divulging of the Gospel of Christ by *Wickliffe*, *Hus*, *Hierome* of *Prague*, and *Martin Luther*, that, which first wounded the Kingdome of Anti-christ? and in this Kingdome hath not Anti-christ most footing, where preaching hath least? Papists swarming most in those Shires, and parts of them, where dumbe and Idoll Ministers are most rife. But where the Gospell hath beene for any long time preach't, there like Owles with the morning light, Papists vanish, being either cnoverted to the truth, or averted to other places, where they may be quiet. Owles of darknesse need little

other

other confutation but light, a candle will doe more to them than a staffe, and the Gospell is spirituall light, discountenancing Popery while it discovers it. This is the power, this is the excellency of the spirit of Gods mouth!

But here it is to be observed, that it is the Spirit of Gods, not of mans mouth, which consumes this man of sin: Human preaching, though it have never so much of mans wit, wisedome and eloquence, is too weake for this worke, its that plaine preaching which is in the demonstration of Gods spirit and power, that must blast this enemy of God and goodnesse. A good Note.

Gods owne ordinance must accomplish his owne worke, *Iosh.6.4.5. If the Israelites had blowne with brazen, yea with golden trumpets, when God prescribed Ramshornes the walls of Iericho would never have beene overthrowne.*

If Papists would heare all the Sermons which are preach'd, this might be likely, but they will not come within the verge of this heavenly call, what force can it then have against them? Object.

Tho Papists heare not, others will, who by this meanes will have an antidote to prevent infection, and hereby ordinary men will be inabled so to discover their sleights, and lay open the filth of their superstition, that they will grow ashamed. Answ.

This is then a sound truth, and very usefull to direct all those that desire and indeavour this happy consumption of this man of sin. Popery is full of Idolatry by Image-altar, saint and bread-worship, and so pernicious to the Churches and States where it is suffered; there cannot then be a better object for a good Christian or States-man, than to indeavour the supplanting of Popery, and to those that are so well minded here's the way, the spirit of Gods mouth consumes the man of sin; then set up preaching, and you pull downe massing, and expell it. Penalties against Papists are good and necessary; but preaching is better and more usefull. If penalties be executed against Popery, it may be kept from audacious appearing; but by the setting up of preaching, it would loose its being. Penalties may restraine it, preaching would consume it. If Jesuites be banish'd, that may hinder the perverting of others, if preachers be set up, that will further the conversion of those which they have already perverted. Penalties may hinder Popery from being the sin of the Land, because being punished, it should not be imputed. But preaching would hinder it from being a sin in the Land, because it would make it vanishas a mist before the Sun. Both together are now necessary and usefull, but I am perswaded, if Vse 1.

 every

every congregation in *England*, had a learned and godly Pastour, that did preach the Gospell to them constantly, in the demonstration of the spirit and power, in a small time Jesuites would need no Proclamations to banish them, nor Papists any Law to punish them, there would be no Papist in our *Israel*. But while the ignorance and negligence of Ministers suffer them to be seduced, and their lewd conversation harden them in errour, Lawes and penalties will be of little availe against them. Which was long since observed by that learned and renowned light of our Church, *Whitaker* in his Epistle Dedicatory of his answer to *Durans*, to *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer of *England*, where he concludes thus: *Contra Pontificios parum aut legibus aut libris profici, quousq. firmum atq. idneum ministerium in ecclesiis constitutum fuerit.* We shall prevaile little by lawes or bookes against Papists, unlesse in all Churches a fit and firme Ministry be appointed.

Here's then the good old way to destroy Popery, to set up powerfull preaching and godly preachers, who may adorne that Doctrine by their holy lives, which they deliver in the word of truth? Let them then, that are willing to pull downe Popery, by this word be made wise, walke and warre against Popery in this way, and find successe.

It's not the least sin of the State, that this worke hath beene so much neglected, and the preaching of the Gospell so little furthered, that scarce one parish of six is provided of a Minister, that is not either ignorant and not able to preach, or idle, and not carefull to preach, or scandalous and disgraceth, and makes powerlesse his preaching of the Gospell, and this after so many yeares of peace and plenty, wherein Churches should most of all be edified, after so many gracious deliverances from Papists, which were so many ingagements to plucke down Popery, after so many Parliaments, which have showed the height of wisedome and industry, in providing redresse for the grieveances of the Common-wealth. So that we have not wanted opportunity, but hearts to this worke; that this worke of Christ should be neglected so long, and with such circumstances is sure an omission of no small guilt.

How can Christ but be moved with indignation against us, that he is so little preach't among us, who are so much ingaged to him! This is then a sin that cryes for redresse, not onely for it selfe; but for the consequences of it, least God deale with us, as with the Jewes in *Haggaies* time, for so long deferring the building of the Temple, even blast and curse all our undertakings. But, God be thanked, this is a season

where-

wherein direction is called for, how defect of preachers may be supplied, and therefore excitations may be the better spared or contracted.

The best direction I can give, is by discovering the lets which must be removed, before the want of preaching-Ministers can be supplyed, and which being removed, a supply cannot but follow.

Now they will appeare to be many, and they such as no remedie seemes possible, or at least probable to be had for them, but by a Parliament! As,

First the want of maintainance in many places, which is so great, and so caused, that it cannot but hinder Gods worke, and provoke the eyes of his glory. It is not unknowne how in many places Tithes are impropriate, and base wages allotted for the Incumbent, & is not this a let to learning, and so to preaching? *Hi mores alunt artes*, and men are induced in their choise of callings, by hope of benefit, to be injoyed in them. Even in rectified elections, tho profit may not be the chiefe; yet may it be a secondary incouragement, for every man is to provide for his owne comfortable subsistance. Hence then it is, that many of parts decline the calling of the Ministery, because Church-livings being rare, are by that meanes also hard to be obtained, whereas a man of any other calling may lightly set up any where. Let, 1:

And whence is it, that so many of the basest of the people are Consecrated to be Priests (as they call them) but because in many places the stipend is so base, none that is ingenuously bred, or is sensible of any gifts in himselfe, will undervalue himselfe so much, as to accept so meane a place, so that in such places there must be no Ministers, or no better. And this is as frequent in places of note, as in inferiour villages. And how comes this want of meanes? surely, as I conceive, by Sacriledge. I have not yet learned to give it any other name, for Tithes are paid, which at first its most likely, were appointed for the maintenance of Pastors to feed their soules who fed them: but now they are alienated, and must not this needs also first be Sacriledge?

Illam Ecclesiasticorum bonorum dissipationem cum detestando Sacrilegio connunciatie cum & cum bonis omnibus deplorarunus, ic ehuc universo terrarum orbe commune. Beza in respons: ad Sorbon. de grad: Minist: or. pag. mit.

For that being granted, that Tithes are not due *Iure divino*; yet were they holy, because men had consecrated them to maintaine Gods ordinance, tho not because God had set them apart by any Law, and is it not a snare to devoure holy things?

To withdraw a thing which a man himselfe hath given to God, stands not with that fidelity, or devotion we owe to God, but to take to our owne use what others have given to God, is a case in the appre-

 hen-

hension of grace, or ingenuity some degrees worse than that; which *Nathan* put to *David*. If we had changed with God, it had beene tolerable, especially if we had observed the Law of redemption, adding a fifth part to the value which we had taken away: but to take away so much, and leave so little, its hard to say, whether in the first Actors this Sacriledge, or the neglect of Gods service, the naturall effect of it, be more dishonourable unto God, or more accurst, but both together cannot, but move God to jealousie against us.

This Sacriledge, at least in the greatest part of it (if I mistake not) had its rise from Rome. The taking Anti-christ upon him this, as one part of his anti-christian dominion, to impropriate Tithes for the maintenance of Abbies, thereby providing that the people should have ignorant Pastours, that the blind might lead the blind, and the better keep them in slavery to him: and the Abbies hereby more inrich'd, he might have creatures of power every where to uphold his Kingdome.

Now at the dissolution of the Abbies (an action to be feared not so upright in the circumstances, as just for the substance of it) not onely the temporalties, superstitiously bequeathed to the hurt of the Land; but the Tithes given formerly justly and piously, for to maintaine an holy ordinance of God, a parochian Pastour, were all taken away, the evill and danger of that action being then not so easily espied, by reason of corrupt affection, and obscurity of those times. And this was confirmed by Act of Parliament, which inferreth a necessity of reformation from thence, for that is the highest Court in this Land, from which no appeale, and therefore no redresse of this errour, but by Parliament, save what is voluntary.

Impropriations are now mens legall inheritances, and to some their greatest, to others their onely lively-hood; therefore it cannot be desired, that they should be restored without some satisfaction to the proprietary, which onely a Parliament can provide for.

And me thinks there is a necessity that the same hand should heale, which hath beene made accessary to the wound, least this sin ly, tho not on the particular members, yet on the house of Parliament, and hinder Gods blessing from it. This then requires consideration, and in some part redresse, lest this Sacriledge by hindering preaching, foster Popery that begat it, till they together consume the Land that harbours them.

Nehemiah may be in this a worthy Precedent, who finding the effect of want of maintenance, neglect of the worke of the Lord, *Nehemi.* 13. 10, He

10. He did not onely gather the *Levites* together for the worke, but contended with the Nobles, and made the Tithes be brought for incouragement.

And *Hezekiah* tooke the same course before him. 2. *Chro.* 31. 4. *He commanded the people that dwelt in* Jerusalem, *to give the portion of the Priests and the* Levites, *that they might be incouraged in the Law of the Lord.*

Secondly neere of kin to the former (which I therefore ranck next) is the dissolving of that good worke of buying in Impropriations, by certaine Feoffes in *London*, for the service of Christ.

By the care paines and fidelity, of which Feoffes, many Churches were endowed with maintenance, and furnished with godly, faithfull, able, and laborious Pastours, to the conversion and consolation of many Christian Soules. But now those Feoffes, being disabled, well-affected people are utterly discouraged, from imploying their liberality that way. But if by Parliament those Feoffes were restored to their former power and right, and if there were in every County Feofees, enabled to receive the pious charity of well-disposed people, for that purpose it would, no doubt, much encourage and advance the devotion of godly men and women that way; and in time draw in the greatest part of impropriations in this Land, and very much encrease the number of faithfull Preachers.

Thirdly Symoniacall contracts for the obtaining of livings, and cure of soules, this is done either by money, or reservation of Tithes, or otherwayes: and this as it is a thing base and sinfull in it selfe, so is it a great let to the preaching of the Gospell. For hereby good men are discouraged from inclining to that calling, or being in it are kept out of imployment: for as preferment was showed before to be rare; so by this it appeares it can hardly be attained without corruption, and upon hard termes. So those that are poore being not able, and those that are conscientious being not willing to buy, tho never so able, are permitted to stand idle, because they cannot, or will not buy a place to worke in. Let, 3.

This also is a let to learning and industry, because learning or dexterity in preaching, conduceth little to helpe a man in obtaining a cure: mony must do the matter, so that is sought after, learning slighted. Lawes are already strict against this corruption; yea so strict, that one would thinke stricter superfluous, yet either *vox populi fallax*, or few enter into Church-livings *gratis*.

Tis reported the Parliament was once about stricter Lawes against this

this corruption, which motion deserves applause and renewing. For if our Saviour Christ whipt out buyers and sellers in the Temple; much more should Christians indued with power make sharpest scourges for buyers and sellers of the Temple, else I shall never say of them, *That the zeale of Gods house hath eaten them up.*

If then Patrons should abjure the taking as well as Incumbents, the giving of money for any presentation, or some other such like course, which the wisdome of Parliament may invent to cure this corruption, it might be a great helpe to exclude immeritors, and further the well deserving.

But yet all the care that may be, cannot effect in this a perfect cure, for if Lawes be so strait and wisely framed, that wit cannot elude them, an evill conscience will swallow Camels, and frustrate them, while elections are left wholly in the power of one, therefore that as the nurse of Symony, and other disorders must be confest to be: the next let of good Preachers in many places.

Fourthly corruption in the election of Ministers to be set over congregations, power being left commonly to one man, and that none of the congregation many times, and many times no friend, but an enemy to holy preaching, or a Gallio that cares for none of these things, yea many times this power resides in Papists themselves, till they be convicted, which (of late) in great ones is very rare. Now this as it is the maine occasion of Symony, a bargaine being easily made with one, which with many were more difficult, if not impossible; So also when one is to present, and that to a place where he himselfe shall neither have benefit nor inconvenience by the abilities or defects of the Minister presented, here is a more easie way to be drawne aside by friends, or other by respects, lightly to regard the good of the place by providing an able preacher: Nay many times it falling out; that that one party is either an enemy to preaching or godlinesse: it cannot be expected that such an one should provide a preacher, or at least not a godly preacher, and as good never a whit, as never the better.

An excellent furtherance therefore it were like to be of supply of good preachers to places vacant, if the people were restored to that interest in elections, which primitively they possessed; and still seeme to have right to. Or if this seeme in our Law an intrenching on some mens rights, and inheritance, yet might the people have granted them an approving or negative voice. The Patron proposing diverse that the people may chuse whom they best approve, and reject whom they dislike,

dislike, yea all if they have just exceptions, against their life or gifts, till a man be proposed unto them so neere Saint *Pauls* description, that they may see God hath fitted him to be a Minister somewhere, and they may with good conscience chuse him to be theirs. And this (me thinkes) no godly or ingenuous Patron should resist.

For Patronage is matter of trust, which is to be answerd with care of the Church, without regard of selfe-profit, pleasuring friends, or any such meane respect.

He that intends thus to answer a trust, need not, nor will not think much to have an helpe to prevent temptations to betray it, by gifts, solicitation of friends or such like avocations. If the people had a power negative, on just reason alledged, this were a sufficient answer to all promotors of immerito's, and yet no great inconvenience to the Patron, for if he would commend one worthy, no people would be so ungratefull, but would let the Patrons desire be over-weight to one worthy against all others whatsoever. And if any have so little grace, or ingenuity, that they would reteine their absolute power to have better opprotunity to make their markets, tho they have lesse will, they have more need of this restraint, and their corrupt desire should not be the death of this motion, but the birth of a good Law to cure them, for it is an old and golden *Axiome*, *ex malis moribus ortæ sunt bonæ leges*.

This interest in the choice of their Ministers, the French-Churches injoy, none being obtruded on any congregation, before tryall of his gifts in the co gregation, and unlesse he be without just exceptions: yea so tender are they in this point, that if a congregation be unwilling to receive a Pastour proposed, tho on grounds not so weighty; yet they will rather reserve that Pastour wronged for another Church, than impose him on people against consent. And good reason. For what love can be expected to be betweene that Pastour and his people, that comes in by constraint? and if there be not love, can there be that good done or received, or that reciprocation of duty as ought to be? If there be not as it were a Marriage between a Pastour and his people? and then is not consent requisite? can lesse be left to the people than was granted to *Rebeckah*? Gen. 24. 27. *We will call the Damosell, and aske at her mouth.* They would not conclude without her consent.

Are not people commanded to heare the true Pastours, avoid the false? and should not they then have power to refuse a false-one? If an Arminian Prelate, or Patron may obtrude an Arminian Wolfe upon a

 people,

people, must they not be cast upon a strait, whether to breake Christs command of not hearing a stranger, or order in not hearing him that is his Parochiall Pastour, and so be subject to censure and trouble, unlesse they may have power at first to reject him.

5. Fiftly the Consecration of such, or admission of them into the Ministry, who are either scandalous in their lives, or ignorant and unlearned, a common fault and very great, which became sin to the house of *Ieroboam*, to cut it off, and destroy it. 1 *King.* 13. 33. 34. *In most Cathedralls trades-men are made Singing-men*, and thence step into the Ministery, and many others are put in the office of Prophets, who never saluted the Schooles of the Prophets, and others, tho better learned, yet that make conscience of little or no vilenesse or sin, even notorious for lewdnesse step in, and keepe in.

This craves redresse, a law necessary to backe Saint *Pauls* Canons, for qualification of such as are to be admitted into that sacred and waighty function, that henceforth under the severall censures none be consecrated to that office, but such as are for their judgements Orthodoxe, for their gifts, apt to teach, for their conversations unblameable.

Magistrates are not indeed to make Ministers; but they are to punish, and prevent errours of others in that waighty worke, else as they sin greatly that admit the unworthy: so they that permit unworthy admission, if they have power to prevent it, have fellowship in that sin. It may be some would bend the brows at such a law, but tis better men disdaine than God be angry. If reformation should never be attempted till offenders were willing, the Church and Common-wealth should remaine deformed, and (me thinkes) no man should be much against a Law, that meanes to keepe it, and he that thinkes much to be tyed to St. *Pauls* directions, its pitty his counsell should be harkened unto, or his anger regarded. Wise Law-makers looke not what others may doe, or should doe, or pretend to doe; but what indeed is done, and if it be out of order, provide a remedy, that they, that of themselves will not, may be bound to that which is good.

When these unworthy Ministers are made, by one meanes or other they possesse themselves of charges, and as in the senses, *intus existens prohibet alienum*, so these once in, keepe out others, to the great hinderance of the preaching of the Gospell.

Let 6. Sixtly *Pluralityes & non-residencie*, hinder the preaching of the Gospell, for unlesse he that hath two Benefices had two Persons, or he that lives

lives from his charge were an *Ubiquitary*, they cannot preach to their flockes in season and out of season, nor so watch over them, but the envious man may come and sow tares. Priests and Jesuits may creepe into houses and lead captive silly women. This calls for redresse. To make a Law that such, where they reside not, should allow competent meanes, and the people have power to chuse their Preachers, might doe well, for the safegard of the peoples soules. But to make a Law to disable all from keeping a Benefice, at which they did not usually reside, might also provide for the safety of the soules of those careless Sheepheards, who are so daz'ed by Covetousnesse, or ambition, that they cannot see the things which concerne their owne everlasting peace, tho by office they be Seers.

They are in Scripture termed Watch-men, Sheepheards, Bishops, or Over-seers, and doe not all these import a necessity of residence? or else they will neglect their duty, betray their people, and so they become guilty of notable theft and blood. If a nurse should be well paid for the nursing of a child, and yet give it no meat, and it consume and dye, is not here both theft and murder, to be punisht by the Judge? And if civill theft and blood of the body suffered, cry against a Land, will not the blood of soules, and spirituall Theft cry much more? This therefore needes redresse to prevent Gods just indignation, for suffering so great a sinne.

The Trent-fathers, though so dimme-sighted that they could not see *Motes* to reform them; yet though *Non*-residency in Ecclesiasticall Persons a fault unsufferable, and therefore it seemes its a beame, not a moate. And if those children of the Church malignant went so farre, how shall a true Christian Assembly, met together to reforme abuses and redresse grievances, looke Christ in the face, and not attempt the redresse of such enormity? Tho the Law hath already layd a tye on some, yet others are hardened by it. For the Law is a Patronage to those, whom it tolerates therefore, stricter tyes are needfull.

But here I might rather be panegyricall than paræneticall, to praise for care taken, rather than excite to take care in this particular, the Zeale of the Parliament having in this, out-run the publishing; though not the contriving of this small treatise; but in exhorting, I commend. For, that of the Poet, is well knowne. *Quimonet ut facias &c.*

Seaventhly the Canonicall subscription, unnecessary Ceremonies stood for, and prest with that earnestnesse, and violence, as tho the very sinewes and marrow of religion consisted in them, though in word

 they

they be confest indifferent. These, whatsoever their rise and amye be, yet in the effect of them, they much hinder the preaching of the word, for this is one of those many things, which divert the studies of many to other imployments, which if they were not by these discouraged, were like to doe worthily in the Church: and by this, many, otherwise qualified without exception, have beene either kept out of charges, or cast out, being deprived, and put, not onely from the worke of Christ, but from their own maintenance.

And if those, that doe refuse conformity to these, out of meere conscience, injoy liberty to preach, yet are they by reason of them obnoxious, to the taunts and malice of every lewd drunkard, or popish Atheist, who hence take occasion of unjust, and unholy revenge, when their consciences are touched with the searching power of Gods word. Therefore let these Ceremonies be what they will in their originall, in the event they prove Anti-christian, helping to keepe up Popery by hindring preaching and Preachers.

Besides, the penalties, that are inflicted upon the refusers of subscription, are without order of Law, and so against Law, for there is no statute, but Canon onely, to ground such proceeding upon, and if it have beene counted an intolerable grievance, that by commissions a man should have part of his goods demanded or taken away without Law, can it but appeare most hainous, that a Minister for not subscribing, to what by Law he is not bound, or not doing that for which the Law hath appoynted no penalty, should not onely have part, but all his revenue taken away, and exposed to the mercy of this unmercifull world? This in measure must needs exceed the former unlesse Ministers alone shall be counted unworthy the priviledge of subjects, and be left in the condition of slaves which how God would take we may judge by that saying of Christ. *He that despiseth you despiseth me.* Papists shall rise up in judgement against us, who indowe their Clergie with extraordinary immunities, whilest ours injoy not the ordinary protection of Lawes.

Suppose *Non*-conformity to certaine be an offence, yet doe the penalties far exceed the quality of it, he is to pay but 12. d. that prophanely in oathes takes Gods name in vaine, or absents himselfe from Church on the Sabbath day, and doth it deserve a greater penalty if a man refuse a Surplice, which God hath not commanded? yet if such a penalty had been appointed, it would have beene borne with patience, and tho it would have punished Preachers, yet would it not have hindred

dred preaching. Many if they could have had free liberty of the ministery without checke or feare, would have beene contented in respect of outward things, to have lived below their breedings and callings. Oh then these things cal for redresse, that the bond for subscription may be cancelled, & that those ceremonies, that the best maintainers of them can onely affirme innocent, not profitable, and all good Christians see and feele in their fruits to be noxious, may be cashiered, they may be lost without danger; not so kept, or if they be not absolutely taken away, yet let each injoy liberty.

If sodaine alterations be pretended to be inconvenient, let them be, as the Jewish Ceremonies for a time were, *Mortua*, so free to be left off to be used. Nor will this be any prejudice to the government of the Church, who knowes not that unity is better than uniformity? Nay difformity is no deformity.

One man comes to Church with a gowne, another with a cloake, another with a coate, who complaines of any deformity? If variety in the same congregation of the habits of the members of it be no deformity, why should variety in habit of Ministers in divers congregations seeme so strange, deformed, and undecent?

The Apostle speaking of the habits of men and women in praying and prophesying, makes no distinction of members or Ministers; but gives one rule for all. 1. *Cor.* 11. *Nor would variety be properly faction, or schisme in the Church.* For schisme we know is not in opinion; but affection, not when men differ in judgement, or practise about Circumstantiall things; but when they are divided in affection, for this difference in judgement or practise.

Eightly the corruptions in the Universities, as bowing before the Altar, tho many times there be Images over it, exaction of bowing also at the name of Jesus, the great growth and sway of Arminianisme, favouring and favouring of Popery, canonicall subscription urged upon all graduates in the University, before they have time or care to study the moderne controversies, or ability to judge of them, and such like, whereby many godly parents are discouraged from sending their children thither to be trained up, for the worke of the Ministery, and godly Scholers are discouraged and hindred, from proceeding in learning, because they can neither have their degrees without corruption, nor continue with any conveniency in the University long, without taking their degrees, and so by these discouragements the Church is prevented of many usefull, and preaching of the Gospell is not a little Let 8.

 hindred.

hindred. This then calls for redresse, care in purging the Fountaines is most necessary, most usefull, the good or evill of that diffuseth it selfe over the Nation.

That hath made the adversary so carefull to sow tares, there our Saviour sent the children of light once, to learne wisedome of the children of this world; so may we now indeavour to promote the Gospell, by purging the Fountaines, as they by corrupting them, thought to stifle it.

Let 9. Of Preaching. Ninthly, the audaciousnesse of some that preach against preaching, or the frequency of it, yea and with Licence print Sermons against Sermons, as if the frequency of preaching in our times were superfluous, yea dangerous. This prophane petulancy against the Lawes of God and our Church, if it were severely punished, the honour of this Ordinance would be vindicated, and this ill wind would be restrained, that blasts good desires and forwardnesse of many, and no doubt, severity here would be acceptable to Christ; being indeed a revenging of his quarrells.

To this we may adde the disgrace that is cast upon Preachers & preaching. If any Preach constantly twice a Sabbath, this is enough to make him accounted a Puritan, to expose him to the envie of the Prelates, and then ordinarily there's lying in waite for him, and if there be any advantage to be taken, in truth, or show, then he is convented, browbeaten, it may be chidden, reviled and used with all disrespects, what ever his worth or parts be, to the great discouraging of many, and taking off those, whose affection is not the stronger, to the honour of Christ, and the discharge of his function.

Let. 10: Tenthly, discouragements put upon Lecturers, by whose labours the defect of drones would have beene in many places well supplyed. The Incumbent, tho he cannot or will not preach himselfe; yet assumes a power to prohibit a Lecturer to supply his defect, unlesse he will comply to his humour, tho the people would be at charge to maintaine him. There's a Canon that every Lecturer must read Prayer, and administer the Sacraments twice a yeere, with full conformity, whereas before, though a mans judgement had beene against Ceremonies, yet he might have beene a Lecturer, having no occasion to discover inconformity: yea there were instructions procured, that the Lecturer before he preached, should read Prayers in his Surplice, tho there were an incumbent there, that many times could doe nothing else, and all to stop Lecturers, what ever need there hath beene of them. Yea the name

name of a Lecturer with many is *Nomen invisum*, an hatefull or scornefull name, so many places have beene left to the sole care of unfaithfull and unable Ministers by these meanes. Here then is need of redresse. An Act to make it lawfull for the people to procure any orthodoxe, peaceable Preacher, to supply the defect of their dumbe Ministers, whether he would consent or no, and to cashiere all illegall impositions put upon Lecturers, would remove this Let, and be an excellent and needfull helpe to this Nation, till by Gods providence it be unburdened of all unable, and unfaithfull Ministers.

Eleventhly, the tendernesse, and respect that is had of idle and unfaithfull Ministers. They must not be called dumbe dogs as they deserve, and the Scriptures intitle them, though they preach not, yet the people most not goe to heare in other parishes, if they doe they are presented, and censured, and the Idoll-minister countenanced, and commended for his conformity. The lawfullnes of their Ministry must not be questioned, but its accounted a cryme, and hereby they are fostered and hardened in their ignorance, and unfaithfullnesse, and never think of renouncing that calling they have no fitnesse for, or stirring up those gifts, wherby they might be profitable. If therefore a Law were made, that till every place were furnished with godly, and painfull teachers, it might be lawfull for people, that had none or corrupt preaching, to goe where their soules might find better repast, this no doubt would make some weary of, and others more laborious in their callings, and be no small furtherance by the preaching of the Gospell. Let 11.

The last, but not the least Let of Preaching, is the excessive and lawlesse power, that Archbishops, Bishops, &c. exercise over the Preachers of the Gospell, whereby they sometimes prevent them, sometimes limit them, sometimes suspend them from the preaching of the Gospell: and that sometimes for their meere pleasure, sometimes by vertue of Canons of their owne making, sometimes for not observing some extraordinary injunctions of their owne procuring, by all which they not onely impiously, but unjustly hinder the preaching of the Gospell.

First, tho a man be made Minister by themselves, and then injoyned to preach, tho he be inducted into a living, and so his duty to his flocke doth inforce diligence in preaching, yet he must not preach (forsooth) after all this without a licence from them, and that many times they will not grant, especially to Lecturers; but upon their own

termes,

termes. Secondly, when they are licenced, yet they take upon them to limit them, that they preach onely in the fore-noone, and forbid them sometimes to Catechise too, in any profitable way. And if any in conscience of their duty, will preach or so Catechise, as may be as profitable to the people as a Sermon, they often threaten, sometimes suspend them. Thirdly, tho they be licensed, and by vertue of that preach on the Lords Day, and holy-dayes, yet if a man will preach weekely in his owne parish, which is commonly called a Lecture, that they will not suffer without a speciall Licence, at least in word, yea when they have licenced Lectures, or at least their Predecessours, they take upon them to impose burthens on the Lecturers, to dishearten them, or else downe-rightly, *pro imperio*, prohibit them, and put them downe, as some have done throughout their Diocesses. Fourthly, many times out of meere power they suspend Ministers, that are Pastours of congregations, for not observing their orders, tho injoyned by no order of Law, or opposing their practises, tho against Law, or preaching Truths, consonant to Gods word, and our Churches Doctrine, because contrary to their errours and humours.

Our Lawes confirme the morality of the Sabbath, condemne pastimes upon it, yet many for not reading a Booke that counts the strict observation of the Lords Day Jewish, and licenceth, and incourageth to dancing, and other light recreations, have beene suspended, their charges left destitute, some excommunicated, and the benefit of appealing, denyed them.

One because hee will not read a civill Proclamation, another because hee will not read an illegall prayer, another because hee will not give money when they required him illegally.

Our Lawes forbid the bringing in of any new Ceremonies, other than by Law are established: yet some for preaching against the bringing in of Altars, and bowing to them, some for opposing, or preaching against Jesus-worship, have beene suspended or inhibited, from the worke of the Ministry.

Some have beene suspended likewise, for not Catechising out of the Common-prayer Booke, tho their charges have beene in great Townes, that have exceeded the ordinary pitch of hearers.

Some for preaching against Arminianisme, some for preaching against Images, some for preaching against dancing, some for preaching at the buriall of a child, dying before Baptisme, and many other things when the humours of Prelates are crost.

At admittance, they enter them with an Oath of Canonicall obedience, and upon that think their word shall be a Law, and if not, suspend them for neglect of Canonicall obedience, and what ever the cause is, when

when they have past the censure, its in vaine for a poore Minister to struggle. If he would appeale, they have provided a Canon, unlesse he subscribe, his appeale shall not be admitted, nor then neither many times. But if it be, what hope of redresse? when they from whom he appeales, or their fellowes must be his Judges, who count it a pernicious example, that a Prelate should be thought to erre in any of his censures, or be put to the worse by an unruly Minister, (as all must be thought who submit not to them) This is it that hath made so many precious able Ministers leave our Church, to our great wound and disgrace, to goe into other Countries, preferring the meanest condition with freedome from this yoake, above the sweetest under this grievous bondage.

Unlesse therfore care be taken, to curl e this exorbitant power, in vain will all care be for providing good Ministers; for the Prelates, if they daunce not after their Pipe, after the impression of a Parliament is a little over, will quickely cast them out at pleasure, nor will any other care to restraine this pernicious power be a sufficient cure, but onely abolition of it. If it be never so neere cropt, yet the influence of some superiour orbe will make it sprout, and ill weeds grow apace.

Experience it selfe may teach, how weake a security from the evill of this power, the restraining of it is, if it have any rootlest. In our neere Sister Church of *Scotland*, when Bishops had scarce any thing, but a meere name at first, were meere titular, could doe nothing without the Presbyteries, and not onely their power, but persons were under them, yet in time by little and little they grew to that height as not onely to over-top the Presbyteries, but to degrade them as it were, and make them as cyphers, and having gotten this power, they did as busily imploy it in stopping the mouthes of the faithfull Ministers. As Prelates went up, preaching went downe, and they never left aspiring till not onely they did with Rome, *Magnitudine laborare*, but like force without counsell, *Moleruere sua*.

And in our owne experience, we see them still aspiring, and inhauncing their power. Heretofore they were content to confesse kindes of government arbirrary, and so to hold their office from the King, who might appoint that, or any other government, but of late they assume to be *Iure divino*. Heretofore they were glad of the protection of laws, but of late they have be ne bold to trample on them, disdaining, and not enduring prohibitions, bringing in new Ceremonies and Canons at pleasure. If therefore they should now be taken downe, and cropt

onely;

onely; but have a root or being lest, they would in time find means to renew their strength, and this affront would increase their stomack, and it is to be feared their attempts against the preaching of the Gospell would be (tho the more subtill) yet never the lesse earnest, and much more malicious.

Neither can it be expected to be otherwayes, for when any thing exceeds the bounds which God hath set, how should they know any other limits? now God sure hath never advanced any Ministers to that power over their brethren, to silence and censure, at pleasure. Christ censured affectation of superiority in his Apostles, not ordained it, he forbade Monarchical power amongst them as unsuitable to their function, in this to be unlike the civill powers that were among the Gentiles, & therefore in exercising this sole power of excommunicating and depriving, they keepe not the limits he hath appointed: and in his steps tread his Apostles, Saint *Peter forbids Lordlinesse in Elders*: Saint *John* noteth *Diotrephes* for loving preheminence, and excommunicating those that crost his humour, to obey the Apostles.

The Church of Christ is not to be without Governours, and government, but if we search the Scriptures we shall find that governing is not the chiefest operation in the Church, nor are Governours the highest officers. *Rom.* 12. 6. 7. 8. *The holy Ghost setteth Pastours and teachers above rulers*. So likewise 1. *Cor.* 12. 28. *Governments be in an inferiour place, and where governing is conjoyned with Preaching, preaching is esteemed the more honourable worke* 1. *Tim.* 5. 17. and 1. *Cor.* 1. 16. *Preaching is so advanced by the Apostles, as tho other ministerial acts were nothing*, in comparison, *for Christ sent me not to Baptize, but to Preach*. Such Prelates then as being advanc'd to governing, neglect preaching, or because they are admitted to government, exalt themselves over the Pastors and Teachers in the Church, to suspend or inlarge at pleasure, undoubtedly transgresse the rules and orders in the word, and then no other limits can confine them, if there be power to transgresse. This therefore showes how unsafe it is by humane lawes to thinke, to confine that power, which hath transgrest divine without abolition, and on the contrary how safe the abolition of it is, for being it is not of God, but against him rather, abolition cannot displease God, nor be inconvenient; but most safe and acceptable. Yet had there never beene any experience of this alteration in Church government, or had the experience of it beene unprosperous, there might be far greater scruple in attempting it, but when we see not onely an other government in all other re-

med

formed Churches; but also the successe of that government to be much more usefull, to the advancement of the Gospell and Kingdome of Christ, there may be much more confidence in removing this last and greatest Let of preaching the Gospell.

Thus have I endeavoured to lay open the most soveraigne preservative against, and most forcible destructive of Popery, Preaching; and therein I am sure I have not erred, because the Spirit of Truth is my guide. I have indeavoured also to discover the *Lets* of preaching, and and to suggest some wayes of redresse, wherein I stand in more need of candour, for I may erre and need pardon, I am short and need supply, but if by these or other meanes, preaching be advanc't, I doubt not but Popery will be subdued daily, and if Protestancy prevaile against Popery, Protestants will undoubtedly prevaile against Papists, when the spirituall holds of Anti-christ are throwne downe by the word, the Temporall power of Anti-christians shall not prevaile against us, *God will turne his hand against our enemies.* But if we suffer preaching to goe downe, and Popery to prevaile, how just will it be with God, to sell us into the hand of Papists, which he in his mercy and goodnes ever avert. To whom be glory for ever and ever. AMEN.

As Christ saved the world by writing, and teaching of foure Evangelists; so the Fiend casteth to damne the world and Priests; forbidding to preach the Gospell by these foure. By fained contemplations, by Songs, by Salisbury use, and by worldly businesse of Priests, Wickliffe *in the Conclusion of his complaint, to the King and Parliament.*

FINIS.
